IRISH 1798 COLLECTION

#73
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A VIEW

OF

IRISH AFFAIRS

SINCE THE

REVOLUTION OF 1688,

TO THE CLOSE OF THE

PARLIAMENTARY SESSION of 1795:

WITH

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS,

AND A

PRELIMINARY SKETCH OF THE REVOLUTION.

BY JAMES MULLALLA, L. L. B.—F. R. S.

VOL. I.

STATUI RES GESTAS, POPULI ROMANI, CARPTIM UTI QUÆQUE MEMORIA DIGNA VIDEBANTUR PERSCRIBERE: EO MAGIS, QUOD MIHI A SPE, METU, PARTIBUS REIPUBLICÆ, ANIMUS LIBER ERAT.

SALLUST.

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TO THE RIGHT HON.

JOHN FOSTER,

SPEAKER OF THE HON. HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SIR,

IN dedicating to you the 'View of Iriſh Affairs,' I am confident of meeting with the Sanction of Public Approbation, convinced, as I am, that your ardent Zeal, and unremitting Attention have ever been exerted to promote every Meaſure, having National Utility for its Object. In this Opinion, I am fully confirmed by the numerous and reſpectable Teſtimonies of Gratitude ſo frequently preſented to you, by the truly uſeful Part of the Community. The proſperous and flouriſhing State to which your patriotic Exertions have advanced our Agriculture, Manufactures, and Trade, places in a ſplendid point of View, the importance of your Services, which will only ceaſe to be held in grateful Remembrance, when genuine Patriotiſm loſes her Eſtimation, and Ireland her Name.

I WOULD

I WOULD feel peculiar pleaſure in paying that Tribute of Applauſe to your dignified Worth and luminous Talents, ſo juſtly due to them, did not Motives of Delicacy reſtrain me; wherefore, not to treſpaſs on your Time, or Feelings, I take the Liberty to ſubſcribe myſelf, with that Reſpect, and Eſteem, which every Friend to his Country muſt bear you,

Sir,
Your moſt devoted
Humble Servant,
J. MULLALLA.

RANELAGH,
26th Auguſt, 1795.

PREFACE.

THE ſubſequent pages would never have been publiſhed, had the period choſen, been ever ſet forth in a continued diſcourſe. To fill up a chaſm therefore in the hiſtory of this country, with the utmoſt regard for impartiality and candour, has been my object: and, were my abilities equal to the importance of the ſubject, the work would conſtitute a truly intereſting and ſplendid portion of hiſtoric information.

ALTHOUGH many portions of the Iriſh hiſtory have been written by men of great talents and abilities, yet they have been in general too partial in their repreſentations. Hiſtory in ſuch hands is neither better nor worſe than what the author is willing to make it, according to his partiality or averſion; and he muſt have little knowledge of man, who knows not, that this ſpecies of human weakneſs is but too often an ingredient in ſome of the

the beſt, as it always is in the worſt characters; which, like a cancerous excreſcence on a beautiful face, often grows out of the faireſt principle; in ſuch caſes, the more indifferent a man is, either in ſpiritual or party zeal, the nearer he approaches to the character of a true patriot and a good citizen. If religious indifference were at all laudable, it would be in the inſtance before us; but there is a ſtrength of mind ſuperior to this indifference itſelf, which gives all the good qualifications neceſſary to complete the good man, as well as judicious hiſtorian. This ſtrength, ſeveral great writers, Proteſtants and Catholics, wanted. As deſcribers of former times, they may poſſibly give us a fair copy, but as cotemporaries they are intolerable. Of all men, they are the moſt liable to deception, and the moſt laborious to deceive. The miſchief they circulate, is in proportion to their abilities, and that rank in life, which renders thoſe abilities conſpicuous. No honeſt man, of the preſent day, is concerned in the conduct of either Proteſtants or Catholics of any former age of a very different complexion, otherwiſe than by contraſting the cauſes and effects in the one, with thoſe in the other, and thereby removing

any

any ill impreſſions the public mind may ſtill retain, with reſpect to times ſo different from our own. This is placing a proper mirror before our eyes, and improving our minds and manners by the truth of the repreſentation.

To remove civil and religious prejudices, a proper diſtinction between times and things muſt be ſcrupulouſly obſerved, otherwiſe the concord and mutual co-operation of the people cannot be eaſily effected. The wiſdom of knowing and purſuing our proper intereſt, lies within a very narrow compaſs. It requires but little information to be convinced, that the Catholics of the preſent day, are not to be paralleled with thoſe that lived at the commencement of the Reformation, who had then the greateſt ſtake in this world to ſtruggle for, the religion then eſtabliſhed in this country, together with the power and poſſeſſions of their fathers, neither of which doth, nor can exiſt at preſent. Their inſurrections, in the reigns before the Revolution, were for the moſt part the contentions of diſtreſs with arbitrary power. Inſurrections

tions in the preſent day, would be the efforts of impious treachery, againſt a beneficent ſovereign and a lawful, mild, and protecting government; the defiance of the moſt awful inſtitutes of God and man.

The man who ſets theſe matters in a clear light, renders an effectual ſervice to his country, and cannot fail to conciliate the affections of the candid, the wiſe, the lovers of liberty, and the lovers of truth. Conſcious of the rectitude of my intentions, I appear before the public with confidence, but an anxious humility as to the execution of the undertaking.

It is a duty I owe to the public, to mention the ſources from whence I have deduced ſuch intelligence, as juſtifies me, either in placing tranſactions in a new light, or in forming any new opinion with reſpect to their cauſes and effects. The longer I reflect on the nature of hiſtorical compoſition, the more I am convinced that this ſcrupulous accuracy is neceſſary. The man who records the events of his own time is credited in proportion to the opinion which the public entertain with reſpect

to

to his means of information and veracity; but he who delineates the tranſactions of a remote period, has no title to claim aſſent, without adducing evidence in ſupport of his aſſertions. In thoſe ſentiments, I have been confirmed by authors, whom their induſtry, erudition and diſcernment, have juſtly placed in an exalted rank among the moſt eminent hiſtorians of the age. This duty, then, I perform with much ſatisfaction, as it will afford me an opportunity of expreſſing my gratitude to thoſe benefactors, who have honoured me with their countenance and aid in my reſearches.

I HAVE carefully conſulted Hume, Kennett, Ralph, Burnett, Walker, Harris, Geoghegan, Dalrymple, Smollett, Leland, Campbell, Crawford, and Simon; and the archieves of Trinity College, Oxford, and Cambridge. From theſe ſources I derived much uſeful information. I have only differed from Hume, in thoſe places, where I found that great writer under the influence of national prejudice, or groſs miſconception. I have departed from Dalrymple in ſome inſtances, particularly with reſpect to admiral Ruſſel's engagement with the French fleet, in the reign

of

of William III. In his narrative of that tranſaction I find him much biaſſed; this opinion I am confirmed in by Doctor Somerville, as well as by my reſearches in the archieves of Cambridge. Throughout the entire work, I have ſedulouſly endeavoured to guard againſt party, and the falſe gloſs of intereſted writers; leſt it ſhould either miſlead, or deceive; a precaution abſolutely neceſſary, as I conſider every man who delivers his ſentiments to the public, reſponſible for their conſequences.

I FEEL a peculiar pleaſure in acknowledging my ſincere thanks to my truly learned friend Dr. O'Halloran, and to Capt. Ouſley, of Limerick, for their friendly communications and polite attention. To Mr. Ledſam, of Brookville, I owe many obligations, as alſo to Mr. William Daly, for his uſeful hints and judicious obſervations in the progreſs of the work.

I HAVE not ſtrictly adhered to arrangement in the narrative. In my digreſſions I imitate the pilot, who does not always ſteer to the place for which he holds, in a ſtraight line,

line, but often yields to the ſwell, often to the wind; and with ſhifting ſail, makes for that, which the inſtant ſtorm allows him, not that for which he firſt deſtined his courſe; that even from thence, he may at length attain the wiſhed-for port.

I HAVE endeavoured to ſhew that tithes are not that burthen on the peaſantry of which they ſo loudly complain, and that recent and former diſturbances in this kingdom owe not their origin to tithes, and, if at all concerned, that the reſolution of agiſtment was the cauſe.

I BEG leave to make my ſincere acknowledgments to my numerous and reſpectable ſubſcribers; and to every particular friend and correſpondent I ſend my moſt cordial thanks for their candid and unremitted attention to my various enquiries; for which I never will prove unmindful, and I hope the candour and impartiality I have diligently laboured to preſerve, will compenſate for the defects and imperfections unavoidable in the courſe of a work, for the comple-

tion

tion of which maturer years and ſuperior talents would have been indiſpenſably requiſite.

HAVING now fulfilled my engagement with the public, my labour cloſes, perhaps for ever. The indulgent reader will make a candid allowance for juvenile errors, which at a more mature age ſhall be rectified, ſhould I ever re-aſſume the pen. Foul revenge may, from ſome odious corner, attempt to blaſt my fortune or injure my reputation; cruelty and cowardice may level their ſhafts at my character and works, but innocence of heart and integrity of ſoul, will, as they have hitherto done, ſtill protect and defend me.

Nam integer vitæ ſceleriſque purus,
Non eget Mauri jaculis neque arcu.

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A

VIEW

OF

IRISH AFFAIRS, &c.

CHAP. I.

Introductory Observations.—The Revolution of 1688. *—The Causes and Consequences of it.—*

ON a review of our history from the reign of Henry the II. to the Revolution of 1688, we find the calamities of the nation invariably flowing from public misrule, barbarous manners, private interest, and the rage of parties. This rage was little affected by those changes in religion, which had set Europe in a flame, for two successive centuries. Popular phrenzy, vague principles, and the lust of dominion, were at an early period implicated with our ecclesiastical contests; and the doctrine of Christianity, which fatally had so small an influence previous to the commence-

ment of thoſe conteſts, was attended with much leſs after. I propoſe not to dwell on ſuch melancholy ſcenes, we have too long been the dupes of ſhameful prejudices; my object is to eradicate ſuch diſtinctions as have ever engendered miſchief, and to reſtore that union and harmony which hath at all times been the wiſh of party to violate. Far be it from me to extenuate the known guilt of any party, or applaud the miſconduct of public oppreſſors.—Ireland, long waſted by its own ariſtocratical confuſion, and little improved by the too weak monarchy erected on its ruins, acceded to a foreign government, planned on the guilt, and introduced by the fraud of one of the national chiefs.—The people having changed from bad to worſe, inſtead of protection, found a wanton exerciſe of lawleſs and arbitary power; inſtead of peace, a mercileſs war made on human nature, for 350 years without intermiſſion; inſtead of merciful governors, purchaſed at the expence of enormous poſſeſſions, a ſet of turbulent free-booters, who denied the unfortunate natives the benefit of the Engliſh laws, and of all laws human and divine. It is no wonder that a nation thus treated; and thus delivered over

to utter extermination, ſhould ſeek redreſs by the force of arms. As far as the cruel ſtate of anarchy eſtabliſhed amongſt them permitted, they ſought and found ſome redreſs in reſiſtance. They made efforts to regain liberty by the means of force, when they found it in vain to ſeek that bleſſing by any other! Indeed, all the little happineſs they enjoyed for near 400 years, they owed to the ſad expedient of War alone! And yet this ſtate of things was not occaſioned by the inhumanity of one ſet of eccleſiaſtics againſt another; but to the inhumanity of catholics againſt catholics. This ſhews how little the formal identity of religion is ſufficient to ſecure human kind againſt human treachery; it can only be ſaid of religious conformity that it is a leſs evil in the world, than a religious diſcord; ſince the true purpoſes of treachery, or the pretenſions of zeal can be detected with much more certainty in the firſt caſe, than in the ſecond. To oppreſſive governments a different mode of God's worſhip, is generally almoſt all crimes in one: this makes the ſolution of all moral as well as political evil extremely eaſy; and here alone oppreſſion finds the moſt commodious

juſtification of all its meaſures. This the firſt oppreſſors of Ireland wanted; therefore, as a juſtification, they were obliged to aſcribe to the peculiar obſtinacy of the Iriſh nation what they could not to their religion. By ſuch ridiculous pretext they juſtified all their outrages. The pretexts in difference of nation can never impoſe long: thoſe in difference of religion are of greater duration and of worſe conſequences. But theſe conſequences, miſchievous as they are, will operate much leſs towards public miſery, when knowledge and national wiſdom unite to bring their cauſes under a ſtricter examination, than they have hitherto undergone. Religion, good or bad, is the beſt teſt we have for the probity of men. Its votaries, through the ſeduction of ſome, and ignorant zeal of others, may at ſome periods torture the ſacred text to defend bad meaſures, and rotten principles. But ſuch an evil is temporary, it is the duty of government and the perfection of patriotiſm to do it away. Then the tranſient effects of tranſient policy would ceaſe; and if union on the tenets of religion could not be obtained, an union on civil principles might; to ſuch an union

no

no good governor will be an obſtacle, nay he will be active in making the diſcrimination we here contend for.

On the eſtabliſhment of the Reformation under Queen Elizabeth, it may be obſerved with truth, that one party was puniſhed without mercy, and the other, without ſound policy. Her intereſt led her, and the ſucceſs of her father and brother encouraged her to change the eſtabliſhed religion in England. This ſhe effected; but the truth obliges us to confeſs, that the new church was erected on the foundations of perſecution. The change was effected by a ſudden effort of legiſlative power; but without that moderation, which time, rather than human wiſdom, exerts in eſtabliſhments of this nature.—This evil of perſecution encreaſed during the following reigns; when the three kingdoms, for the firſt time, were ſubject to one ſovereign.

James, I. whom the trumpeters of political lies charged with favouring popery, was its greateſt enemy. His adminiſtration in Ireland is an almoſt continued proof of this aſſertion,

his trimming conduct towards the Catholics in England, is no proof to the contrary; for they gained nothing by the lures he held out to them. Charles, his ſucceſſor, ruinouſly trod in his ſteps. The Scottiſh covenanters would not bear the introduction, of what they deemed a ſuperſtitious liturgy among them. They ſought redreſs in inſurrection; and the parliament then ſitting at Weſtminſter, approved of their conduct. The Iriſh dreading the worſt from the republican ſpirit that now exiſted in Britain, entertained the thoughts of availing themſelves of the preſent opportunity to ſhake off the bondage they groaned under for many years before. But this they deſigned to effectuate by legal means. Truth warrants me in aſſerting, that the Iriſh wanted to redreſs grievances by legal and conſtitutional means. They were firmly attached to monarchy: they were loyal to the reigning prince, notwithſtanding the unworthineſs of his deputies who betrayed both him and them. The deſperate meaſures, which many adopted ſoon after, were occaſioned by the adjournment of the ſeſſions of parliament in 1641, ſo contrary to the king's order as well as intereſt. A part,

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and not all, aroſe in Ulſter and ſought relief in reſiſtance; the continuation of the ſeſſion, together with paſſing ſome bills into laws purſuant to his majeſty's deſire, would have completely prevented the murders and maſſacres that enſued; and which are to be ſolely aſcribed to the perfidious treachery of the lords'-juſtices.

It is a pity ſo ſenſible a writer as Mr. Hume, ſhould be ſo much miſled into different accounts of theſe matters; a wound from ſuch a hand is painful: but it is far from being mortal, in an age wherein hiſtory may be written and adorned, but cannot poſſibly be created. The miſrepreſentations of Sir John Temple and others, Mr. Hume has drawn out on a new canvas, heightened by all the colouring of his art, as a fine painter; and the piece evidently coſt him much labour. Horror and pity are wrought up here, in high perfection: but happily, the Iriſh did not ſit for the picture, and Mr. Hume can claim no other merit in this inſtance, but that of giving a wrong bias to the paſſions, he took ſo much pains to excite.—Far from being influenced by the ſpiritual zeal

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of any ſect, Mr. Hume has ſaid enough to condemn its exceſſes, in every party of thoſe miſerable and barbarous times. He laid open thoſe cancerous ſores, which ſtill gnaw into our minds, and have produced, what they ever muſt produce, party malevolence, party intereſts, perſecuting laws, perverſe judgments, and averſion from due information! It would be little expected that ſuch a writer, ſhould deviate in any inſtance from truth, and lay down the arms of philoſophy, to wield thoſe of ſpiritual hatred! Wherefore it is reaſonable to preſume, that nothing but miſtakes in matters of fact, could tempt him, to return ſuch weapons, with a new edge to inflamed adverſaries; but particularly to men, who in their anniverſary preachings, abandoned the road of charity and truth, to perpetuate animoſity, and wound the living by unjuſtifiable ſtrokes on the dead. By reviſing the remembrance of thoſe times, my object is to inſtruct, not to miſrepreſent; to pacify, not to ſlander. In my humble apprehenſion the confounding times and things, is making the worſt poſſible uſe of hiſtory; until we can make the proper diſtinction between them, civil and religious,

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prejudices muſt prevail, to the utter ruin of a country, ſo peculiarly circumſtanced, as to be incapable of a moment's happineſs without the mutual co-operation and concord of all its people.

From the reſtoration to the ſucceſſion of James II. the Iriſh manifeſted a ſpirit of loyalty to their ſovereign and obedience to the laws, which were highly commendable; but upon the acceſſion of that unfortunate and ill-guided prince, all the horrors of religious and civil intolerance burſt out with redoubled fury. The judicious part of the Catholic community, were diſguſted at the violent meaſures James purſued, in order to overturn Proteſtantiſm, but he being entirely governed by the raſh councils of the Queen and her confeſſor, thought it was neceſſary for him, particularly as he was in the decline of life, by haſty ſteps to carry his deſigns into execution; leſt the ſucceſſion of the Princeſs of Orange ſhould overturn all his projects. In vain did Arundel, Powis, and Bellaſis remonſtrate, and ſuggeſt more moderate and guarded meaſures. Theſe men had ſeen and experienced, the furious antipathy which the nation

nation bore to popery; and though ſome ſubſequent incidents had apparently allayed that ſpirit, they knew that the ſettled habits of the nation were ſtill the ſame, and that the ſmalleſt incident was ſufficient to renew the former animoſity. A very moderate indulgence to their religion would have ſatisfied them; and all attempts to acquire power, much more to operate a change of national faith, they conſidered both dangerous and deſtructive. Among all the engines of authority formerly exerciſed by the crown, none had a more pernicious or even deſtructive tendency to liberty, than the court of High Commiſſion, which, together with the Star Chamber, had been aboliſhed in the reign of Charles I. by act of parliament; where a clauſe was alſo inſerted, prohibiting the erection of that court, or any of a like nature. So poſitive and imperious was James in his councils, that this law was deemed no obſtacle; and an eccleſiaſtical commiſſion was anew iſſued, by which ſeven commiſſioners were inveſted with full and unlimited authority over the entire church of England. The king's deſign to ſubdue the church was

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now ſufficiently known ; and had he been able to eſtabliſh the authority of this new erected court, his ſucceſs was infallible. A more ſenſible blow could not be given both to national liberty and religion ; and happily the conteſt could not be tried in a cauſe more unjuſt and unpopular than that againſt Sharpe and the Biſhop of London.—Almoſt the entire of this ſhort reign conſiſts of attempts, either imprudent or illegal, and commonly both, againſt whatever was moſt loved and revered by the nation: even ſuch ſchemes of the King's as might be laudable in themſelves, were ſo diſgraced with theſe intentions, that they ſerve only to aggravate the charge againſt him.

James much more imprudent, headſtrong, and arbitrary than his brother, iſſued a proclamation, ſuſpending all the penal laws in eccleſiaſtical affairs, and granting a general liberty of conſcience to all his ſubjects. He was not deterred by the conſideration, that this ſcheme of indulgence was already blaſted by two fruitleſs attempts ; and that in ſuch a government as that of England, it was not ſufficient

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that a prerogative be approved of by a few prejudiced lawyers and antiquarians. If it was condemned by the general voice of the nation, and yet was ſtill exerted, the victory over national liberty was equally ſignal as if obtained by the moſt flagrant injuſtice and uſurpation.

These two conſiderations indeed would rather ſerve to recommend this project to James, who conſidered himſelf ſuperior in vigour and activity to his brother, and who certainly thought his people enjoyed no liberties but by his royal conceſſion and indulgence. In order to preſerve a better reception for his edict of toleration, the king finding himſelf oppoſed by the church, paid court to the Diſſenters; in the expectation of playing one party againſt the other, he would thereby eaſily obtain a victory over both; a policy too refined for his capacity to carry into execution. But his intention was ſo obvious, that it was impoſſible for him to gain the regard and ſincere confidence of the Diſſenters; for had they been ever ſo much diſpoſed to cloſe their eyes with regard to James's deſigns, the manner of conducting his ſcheme in Scotland,

Scotland, was fully ſufficient to diſcover the ſecret. The king firſt applied to the Scotch parliament, and deſired a toleration for Catholics alone, without including the Preſbyterians; but that aſſembly firmly reſolved not to ſacrifice their civil liberties, and pertinaciouſly determined to adhere to their religion, now for the firſt time rejected the king's application. James therefore found himſelf obliged to uſe his prerogative, and he conſidered it prudent to intereſt a party of his people, beſides the Catholics, to ſupport this act of prerogative. The haraſſed and perſecuted Preſbyterians, to their great aſtoniſhment, heard the principles of toleration every where extolled, and found that permiſſion was granted to attend conventicles, an offence which had been declared no leſs than a capital crime, even during this reign. However the king's declaration of toleration contained articles ſufficient to damp their joy. James declared that he never would uſe force, nor *invincible neceſſity*, againſt any man on account of his religious perſuaſion. It is likewiſe remarkable, that James declared in expreſs terms, that he had thought fit, by his ſovereign authority, prerogative royal, and

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abſolute power, which, *without reſerve,* all his ſubjects were to obey, to grant this royal toleration.

The dangerous ſchemes of other princes may be collected by a compariſon of their ſeveral actions; but ſo infatuated was James with blind zeal, ſo tranſported with his haughty diſpoſition, that even his proclamations and edicts contain ſentiments which may ſuffice to his condemnation, without any farther inveſtigation. But what afforded the moſt alarming proſpect, was, the violent and precipitate management of Iriſh affairs.

The Catholics were put in poſſeſſion of the council table, of the courts of judicature, of the benches of juſtice. The charters of Dublin, and of all the corporations, were recalled; and new charters were granted, which ſubjected the corporations to the abſolute will of the ſovereign. The Proteſtant freemen were expelled, Catholics introduced, and the latter ſect being in number the majority, were now inveſted with the whole power of the Kingdom.

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The act of ſettlement was the only bar to their enjoying the whole property; and Tyrconnel deſigned to convene a parliament, in order to reveſre that act. But in this violent ſcheme, he met with oppoſition from the more cautious Catholics in the King's council. Lord Bellaſis went ſo far as to affirm with an oath, that "the fellow in Ireland was fool and madman enough to ruin ten kingdoms." James, not ſatisfied with exhibiting the imprudence of his conduct in his own kingdoms, determined that all Europe ſhould be witneſs of it. He publicly ſent an ambaſſador to Rome in order to expreſs his obedience to his holineſs, and to reconcile his kingdoms to the Catholic communion.

The Pope, little pleaſed with this forward ſtep, reaſonably concluded, that a plan ſo indiſcreetly conducted, could never be crowned with ſucceſs. The only mark of complaiſance which James received from the Pope was his ſending a nuncio into England in return for the embaſſy; for his Holineſs, at the time, was involved in a violent quarrel with the French Monarch, which intereſted him much more than the converſion of England, where-

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fore he bore little regard to James, conſidering him too cloſely united with his inveterate enemy.—While James oppoſed, in the moſt open manner, all the principles and prejudices of his Proteſtant ſubjects, he could not but at times be ſenſible, that he required their aſſiſtance in the execution of his ſchemes; and although by virtue of his prerogative he had ſuſpended the penal laws and diſpenſed with the teſt, yet he would gladly have obtained the ſanction of parliament to theſe acts of power, as he was ſenſible that without this authority, his edicts *alone* would never afford ſufficient ſecurity to the Catholics. He therefore uſed every means in his power to break the obſtinacy of the parliament in this particular. But finding all his efforts ineffectual he diſſolved the parliament, and reſolved to convene a new one, from whom he expected at leaſt more ſubmiſſion. James's power at this time was exorbitant, his revenue ſo conſiderable and independent that if he had embraced any national party, he might have carried his authority to what extent he pleaſed. But the Catholics, to whom he attached himſelf, were not the one hundreth part of the people. James therefore finding little hopes of ſucceſs, protracted

tracted the election of a parliament, and ſtill proceeded in the exerciſe of his illegal and arbitrary authority. In Ireland Tyrconnel reſolved to inveſt the Catholics with the whole power of the kingdom, particularly that of modelling all future parliaments: He addreſſed himſelf to the city of Dublin, and recommended them to ſurrender their charter to the king. The citizens heſitated to adopt a meaſure, for which not even a plauſible pretence had been aſſigned. At length, Tyrconnel in a rage of diſappointment, loaded them with reproaches and menaced them with all the indignation of the royal vengeance. It being in vain to expoſtulate with the Lord Deputy on the impropriety of his requiſition, the citizens of Dublin, by the hands of their recorder, preſented a petition to the king, ſtating their zealous attachment to his perſon and government, and imploring the continuance of their charter. The application was rejected with ſcorn. A *quo warranto* was immediately iſſued, and judgment ſuddenly pronounced againſt their charter. Many other corporations were ſoon after diſſolved by the ſame procedure; and ſome were influenced to ſurrender their charters by promiſes and

menaces. Previous to the removal of lord Clarendon, the king's mandate had been preſented to the governors of the univerſity, directing them to admit one Green, a Roman Catholic, to a profeſſorſhip. It was ignorantly ſtyled a profeſſorſhip of the Iriſh language. The emoluments, therefore, as well as the office exiſted only in imagination; but tho' Greene was thus diſappointed, the univerſity expected with the moſt melancholy apprehenſions, ſome farther attacks on their privileges. In this ſituation they reſolved to convert moſt of their plate into money, for the purpoſe of erecting new buildings, or purchaſing lands. They had procured the conſent of their viſitors for this project. But Tyrconnel having in the mean time arrived, and being informed of the tranſaction, ſeized the plate in the port of Dublin, and depoſited it in the king's ſtores. The more moderate however of his adviſers prevailed upon him to reſtore it to the univerſity.

The whole kingdom now reſounded with complaints of the meanneſs, ignorance and inſolence of their rulers; while the alarming ſtate of the revenue made an adequate impreſſion

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on the minds of thoſe Engliſh miniſters, whoſe views were not ſolely confined to the promotion of the king's ſchemes. The miſconduct of Tyrconnel was ſolely blamed as the occaſion of this ferment, which occaſioned an urgent application to the king to appoint a wiſer and more temperate governor of Ireland. To avert the impending ſtorm, the deputy obtained permiſſion to attend his royal maſter, accompanied by Rice, chief baron of the Exchequer, the latter of whom made ſuch plauſible repreſentations of the ſtate of Ireland, ſolely deſigned to recommend his patron, that the king, without heſitation, reſtored the deputy to his government, where he continued to proceed with his uſual violence. The next ſtep of the court, was an inſult of ſtill a more open nature on the whole claſs of the eccleſiaſtics, and which rendered the breach between James and that powerful body fatal, as well as incurable. It is ſomewhat ſurprizing that James, when he felt from the ſentiments of his own mind, what a mighty influence religious zeal had over himſelf, could be ſo infatuated as never once to ſuſpect, that it might poſſibly have a proportionate authority over his ſubjects. Could he have profited from experience, he had ſeen inſtances enough of their ſtrong

averſion towards that communion, which he was violently determined to introduce into this kingdom.

James publiſhed a ſecond mandate of toleration almoſt in ſimilar terms with the former; and he ſubjoined an order that it ſhould be read by the clergy in all churches, immediately after divine ſervice. This clauſe the clergy conceived to be meant as an inſult on them, and they were ſenſible that by their compliance they would be expoſed to public contempt, on account of their tame behaviour, and to public hatred, by indirectly patronizing ſo obnoxious a prerogative. They therefore beſought the king, that he would not inſiſt upon their compliance with ſuch an order, but he was incapable, not only of ſubmitting to the greateſt oppoſition, but of allowing the ſlighteſt and moſt reſpectful contradictions to paſs unpuniſhed. He immediately embraced a reſolution of puniſhing the biſhops for their diſobedience; who forthwith were ſent to the tower, on their refuſal to give bail, but to the infinite joy of the whole kingdom they were honourably acquitted. James was ſtill determined to ruſh forward

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in the ſame courſe into which already by his precipitation he had ſo far advanced. He iſſued orders to proſecute all thoſe clergymen who had not read his declaration; he ſent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he obtruded on Magdalen College, to elect for preſident one Giffard, a doctor of the Sorbonne; and he is ſaid to have nominated the ſame perſon to the ſee of Oxford. So great an infatuation is perhaps an object of compaſſion rather than of anger: and is really aſtoniſhing in a man, who in other reſpects, was far from being deficient in ſenſe and accompliſhments.

1688. WHILST every motive, civil, and religious, concurred to alienate from the king every denomination and rank of men, it might be preſumed, that his throne would inſtantly fall to pieces by its own weight. But ſuch is the influence of eſtabliſhed government; ſo averſe are men from undertaking hazardous enterprizes, that had not the nation received aſſiſtance from abroad, affairs might long have continued in their preſent delicate ſituation, and James might perhaps at laſt have ſucceeded in his raſh and ill-concerted projects.

SINCE the Prince of Orange's marriage with James's daughter, he ſupported a prudent and cautious conduct; he apparently concerned himſelf very little in Engliſh affairs, and he took particular care to avoid giving offence or diſguſt to any of the factions, or even to James himſelf. His intereſt as well as inclination prompted him to apply himſelf aſſiduouſly in continental affairs, and to oppoſe the power of the French monarch, againſt whom, he had conceived the moſt violent hatred, from perſonal as well as political motives. By ſuch conduct the Prince of Orange, gratified the prejudices of the Engliſh nation; but as he thwarted the Spaniſh Monarch's wiſhes, who ſought for peace, by a compliance with France, he ſunk much in the eſteem of that Prince.

JAMES, on his coming to the throne, perceiving it to be his intereſt to preſerve an intimacy and be on good terms with the Prince of Orange, on many occaſions gave proofs of his friendſhip for him, and the Prince on his part was not wanting in apparent regard and duty towards James.

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On Monmouth's invaſion, the Prince of Orange diſpatched to James's aſſiſtance, ſix regiments of Engliſh troops, which were in the Dutch ſervice, and even propoſed to take the command of James's forces againſt the rebels. However much the Prince diſliked the maxims of the king's Government, he preſerved a ſilence on the ſubject and gave no countenance to thoſe diſcontents which were with ſuch aſſiduity diſſeminated throughout the kingdom.

Notwithstanding James had entertained lofty ideas of his own prerogative, yet he found that the edicts iſſued by it, wanted much of the authority of the laws, and the continuance of them would in the end become dangerous, both to himſelf, and to the Catholics, whom he deſired to favour. An act of the legiſlature *alone* could eſtabliſh the toleration, which he endeavoured to effect, wherefore he ſolicited the conſent of the Prince of Orange to the repeal of the penal ſtatutes, and of the teſt, hoping if the Prince would declare in favour of that meaſure, the parliament would at laſt be prevailed with to adopt it. And in order to engage the Prince to concur with

with his views, hopes were given that England would eſpouſe all thoſe enterprizes which the Princes's active and extenſive mind had ſo ſucceſsfully planned on the Continent. The Prince of Orange was ſenſible, that the king of Spain, and the Emperor of Germany, were incenſed at the repeated ill uſage and injuries which they had ſuffered from the ambition of Lewis XIV. the Prince knew the weight of theſe Monarchs with the Catholic Princes of the Empire, and he himſelf had acquired a great aſcendancy amongſt the Proteſtant Princes; he therefore planned the the project of leaguing Europe in a general confederacy againſt the encroachments of France, which already ſeemed to menace the liberty and independence of all its neighbours.

No characters are perhaps more incompatible than thoſe of a perſecutor and a conqueror, and Lewis ſoon perceived that by the baniſhment of ſo many of his uſeful ſubjects, he had not only weakened his own dominions, but had inflamed all the Proteſtant ſtates againſt him. Amſterdam and other cities of Holland, had dropped all their private factions, on account

count of the furious perſecutions in France of the Hugonots, and united themſelves cloſely to the Prince of Orange; while the Proteſtant Princes of the Empire formed a ſeparate league for the defence of their religion.

The people of England were anew incenſed at the blind bigotry of their ſovereign, and were ready to adopt the moſt deſperate reſolutions againſt him: it appears evidently from a view of the ſtate of Europe at this period, that Lewis XIV. had not only ſullied and tarniſhed an illuſtrious reign, but by this wanton perſecution had created inſurmountable barriers to his arms which otherwiſe, it would be extremely difficult, if not impoſſible, to oppoſe. The Prince of Orange availed himſelf of all theſe advantages; and by his influence and intrigues, a confederacy was entered into at Augſburg, where the entire Empire joined in its defence againſt Lewis. Holland and Spain became parties in the league. Savoy afterwards acceded to it; and Sweden and Denmark favoured the ſame cauſe; but ſtill the league was deemed unequal to its end and imperfect; ſo long as England maintained that neutrality, in which

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ſhe had hitherto continued. However James might be more bigoted than his brother, yet he was at leaſt more ſenſible to his own and to national honour than Charles, and were he not enſlaved by the former motive, he would have ſupported the intereſt and independence of his kingdoms with more ſpirit. Therefore, when he entertained the hopes of promoting his religious views by oppoſing the ſchemes of France, he was not averſe to that meaſure; and he gave the Prince of Orange reaſon to preſume, that he would ſecond his projects, provided the Prince would concur with his ſchemes in England.—This certainly was a tempting offer to a Prince ſo ambitious of promoting his own views as the Prince of Orange was; but the obſtacles to that meaſure, appeared to him upon deliberation, inſuperable. He obſerved that James had excited the violent hatred of his own ſubjects, and that great fears were entertained of his deſigns. The Prince was apprehenſive ſhould he concur in theſe deteſted meaſures, he would bring on himſelf the odium, under which James laboured; and that he himſelf might riſk the loſing a ſucceſſion, which was awaiting him, and which he had even hopes of enjoying, before

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it ſhould by the courſe of nature devolve to him, by the egregious indiſcretion of James. Therefore the Prince of Orange, would only conſent to the repeal of the penal ſtatutes, by which the non-conformiſts as well as the Catholics were expoſed to puniſhment; but he eſteemed the teſt as a ſecurity abſolutely expedient for the preſervation of the eſtabliſhed religion. James was much diſpleaſed on this occaſion, and took every opportunity to ſhew his diſpleaſure, as well againſt the Prince of Orange as the United States.—He gave the Algerine pirates, who preyed on the Dutch, a reception in his ports, and alſo liberty to diſpoſe of their prizes. He renewed ſome complaints of the Eaſt India Company, and required the ſix Engliſh regiments in the Dutch ſervice to be ſent over, and began to put his navy in a formidable ſtate. From all theſe movements the Dutch were apprehenſive that James ſought only an occaſion of making war upon them. The Prince on his part reſolved to carry on matters with more energy. He ſedulouſly endeavoured to preſerve the attachment of the Proteſtants to his intereſt, and to keep them firm in their preſent union againſt the Catholics. The Prince was conſcious that the

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men of higher rank were for the moſt part retained in their religion,—more by honour than principle; and altho' every one was aſhamed to become the firſt convert; however if the example was once ſet by any perſon of diſtinction, policy and intereſt would daily make rapid converſions to a religion which was ſo zealouſly encouraged and promoted by the king. The Prince of Orange immediately diſpatched an envoy to England, who was to remonſtrate with the king on his conduct at home and abroad, and had private directions to apply on behalf of the Prince to every denomination and ſect, in a becoming manner. The Prince ſent aſſurances to the Proteſtants of favour and regard, and aſſured them that his Holland education had not in any reſpect prejudiced him againſt epiſcopal government; he exhorted the Diſſenters to beware of the fallacious careſſes of a Popiſh court, but to wait patiently until in due time Proteſtants ſhould grant them that toleration, which with ſo much juſtice they had long demanded. Dykvelt, the Prince's envoy, executed his commiſſion with ſuch ingenuity that moſt of theconſiderable perſonages both in church and ſtate, made ſecret application through him

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to the Prince of Orange; and all orders of men looked wiſhfully towards Holland. However there exiſted ſome cauſes, which retained all parties in awe, and prevented them from breaking out into inſtant violence. The Prince was afraid of riſking by an invaſion, an inheritance, which the laws enſured to the Princeſs; and the Proteſtants, from the proſpect of her ſucceſſion, ſtill conceived hopes of a peaceable and ſafe redreſs of all their grievances. But upon the birth of the Prince of Wales, all theſe hopes vaniſhed, and the Engliſh ſaw no reſource but a mutual league in defence of their rights. How ſhort ſighted is human policy! No event was ſo ardently wiſhed for by James as the birth of the Prince of Wales, as he conceived the firm eſtabliſhment of his throne would be the conſequence, but what he had ſo long made the object of his prayers, proved the inſtant cauſe of his downfall and deſtruction.

All faction was for a time laid aſleep in England, and Whigs and Tories, forgetting their animoſity, had ſecretly combined in the deſign of oppoſing their miſguided and unhappy Prince. Even Sunderland the king's favourite

favourite miniſter, is believed to have entered into a correſpondence with the Prince; and at the expence of his own honour and his maſter's intereſt, to have privately embraced a cauſe which he ſuppoſed was likely to be ſo ſoon predominant. The ties of affinity had little influence over a perſon of the Prince of Orange's rank and diſpoſition; or ſhould he even be reproached for violating the duties of private life, yet the glory of delivering an oppreſſed nation, would, he hoped, in the opinion of all rational men, be able to make ſufficient compenſation. Therefore the Prince was reſolved to yield to the application of England and to undertake the defence of a nation, which regarded him as its ſole protector. The Prince of Orange could not reaſonably expect on the commencement of his undertaking, that it would lead him to aſcend the Engliſh throne; but he unqueſtionably foreſaw that its ſucceſs would eſtabliſh his authority in that nation. It muſt be confeſſed that altho' the Prince of Orange's virtue was far from being pure, yet during his life he was extremely happy in the different ſituations in which he was placed; for his actions and conduct contributed largely to the general intereſts

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of ſociety. So fortunate was the diſpoſition of his affairs, and ſo ſecret were his determinations, that little ſuſpicion was entertained of his real intentions to invade England. The Prince's enterprize was yet a ſecret to James, when Tyrconnel received intelligence from Amſterdam of his deſign, and conveyed it to the king, by whom and Sunderland it was treated with deriſion. James was ſo fully perſuaded of the ſacredneſs of his own authority, that he imagined a ſimilar belief had impreſſed his ſubjects, wherefore notwithſtanding the ſtrong ſymptoms of diſcontent that exiſted amongſt his people, his confidence in his army was ſuch, that he, truſted, that in caſe of an invaſion, he would eaſily be able to repel, not only foreign force, but alſo to ſuppreſs any commotion among the people.

When the Prince of Orange could no longer, with *all* his artifice, conceal his real intentions on England; Lewis XIV. offered James every aſſiſtance in his power to repel the intended invaſion. But ſuch was the delicate and perplexing ſituation of the king's affairs, that he was afraid of accepting of Lewis's propoſal. He apprehended that the

the introduction of a body of auxiliaries at this time might breed diſcontents among his own troops and that the old ſuſpicion of a confederacy againſt Holland, and againſt the Proteſtant religion might be revived; wherefore he rejected Lewis's propoſal. Lewis conſidered James's intereſt ſo cloſely connected with his own, that at the inſtance of the Britiſh ambaſſador at Paris, Lewis ſent orders to the French Reſident at the Hague, to remonſtrate with the ſtates againſt the preparations, they were making againſt England. This remonſtrance had a bad effect, and ſet the ſtates in a flame. Even James was diſpleaſed with Lewis's officious conduct on the occaſion. He recalled his miniſter Skelton from Paris, and threw him into the Tower for his raſh conduct, and he ſolemnly declared that no alliance whatſoever of a private nature ſubſiſted between him and Lewis. However the ſtates affected to appear incredulous on that ſubject; and the Engliſh, vaſtly prejudiced againſt their king, poſitively believed that a plan was concerted with Lewis for their total ſubjugation. Such ſuggeſtions were every where diſperſed abroad, and they tended not a little to encreaſe the diſcontents, of which both the Navy and Army,

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as well as the people, diſcovered daily the moſt glaring proofs. James finding himſelf oppoſed by all the civil and eccleſiaſtical powers of the kingdom, determined to appeal to the military, who, if unanimous, he thought were alone able to effectuate all his purpoſes. His deſign was to engage all the regiments, one after another, to give their conſent to the repeal of the teſt and penal ſtatutes; the firſt regiment that was drawn out, were told that they were required either to concur with his majeſty's views in thoſe particulars, or to lay down their arms. James was aſtoniſhed to find, that, (two captains and a few catholic ſoldiers excepted) the whole regiment inſtantly preferred the latter part of the alternative. For ſome moments he remained ſpeechleſs; but recovering from his ſurprize, he commanded them to take up their arms, adding with a ſullen air, that for the future, he would not do them the honour to aſk their advice. During this ſtate of affairs, James received a letter from the Marquis of Abbeville, his miniſter at the Hague, which informed him to a certainty, that he might immediately expect a powerful invaſion from Holland. James's eyes were now opened, and he perceived him-

ſelf on the verge of a precipice, which his deluſions had hitherto concealed from his view. He ſaw no reſource, but in a ſudden recall of all thoſe unfortunate meaſures, which had cauſed ſo many enemies foreign and domeſtic. He courted the Dutch and propoſed to enter into a league with them, he reſtored all the magiſtrates, who had been deprived of their commiſſionson, account of their adherence to the teſt and penal ſtatutes: he reſtored the charters of all the corporations, and annulled the court of eccleſiaſtical commiſſion, while he careſſed thoſe biſhops whom he had ſo lately proſecuted and inſulted. But all theſe meaſures were regarded as ſymptoms of fear, and not of ſincerity or repentance. Nay ſo unfortunate was James in his prepoſſeſſions, that in the midſt of all his diſtreſs, he was ſo impolitic at the baptiſm of the young prince, as to appoint the Pope to be one of his ſponſors.

A. D. 1688. BEFORE the Prince of Wales's birth, a report was widely ſpread abroad, that a ſuppoſitious child was to be impoſed on the people; which ridiculous and abſurd propagation might have been eaſily quaſhed in the beginning; yet by James's diſdaining, through haughtineſs, to ſatisfy the public

public on the ſubject, the foul calumny gained ground, and made ſo deep an impreſſion, that he was conſtrained to ſubmit to the painful neceſſity of aſcertaining the reality of that birth. In the mean time, the Prince of Orange's declaration was diſperſed over the kingdom, and received general approbation. All the grievances of the nation were there fully ſtated and enumerated. The prince declared that his intention in coming to England was, to redreſs theſe grievances, and not with any view of conqueſt whatſoever; and that although James, from motives of fear, had pretended to redreſs ſome of the grievances complained of; yet there ſtill remained a foundation upon which they could in a moment be again erected,—an arbitrary and deſpotic power in the Crown; and that nothing could rectify this uſurpation, but a full and explicit declaration in a free parliament of all the rights of the people.—On the firſt aſſurance of an invaſion, Tyrconnel was directed to tranſport four thouſand forces from Ireland to England.

The Iriſh Catholics ſtill affected to deſpiſe the attempts of the Prince of Orange, until advice had arrived that the prince had ac-

tually landed in England; that he was advancing to the Capital, and that James was deſerted by his ſubjects. The chief governor and his adherents now ſunk into conſternation. Tyrconnel forgetful of his pride, deſcended to flatter the proteſtants and courted them, in order that they might make a favourable repreſentation of his conduct. In the mean time, new commiſſions were iſſued by the deputy for levying forces; and in all parts of the kingdom an armed rabble ſtarted up, under the name of the king's ſoldiers, who ſupported themſelves by open depredations. Univerſal conſternation took place among the proteſtants, many of them fled to England, others ſought ſhelter in walled towns and proteſtant ſettlements, leaving their effects and habitations to the mercy of their enemy.

In the northern counties, where the proteſtants were moſt numerous they collected their arms, reſolving to defend themſelves, and even meditated the deſign of riſing againſt the preſent government: Derry was the city which afforded them the principal protection and ſhelter. Seated on the left of Lough Foyle, it had a communication by a ferry, with the county, from

from which it derived its name. Although it was ſurrounded by a ſtrong wall, ſtrengthened by baſtions, it was by no means capable of maintaining a ſiege againſt a regular army.—On the firſt alarm of the Prince of Orange's invaſion in England, Tyrconnel recalled the garriſon of this city to Dublin; but ſoon ſenſible of his error in leaving Derry to the government of the citizens, he detached a body of forces thither, in order to take up their quarters in the place. The apprehenſion of a maſſacre determined the citizens of Derry, to refuſe theſe troops admiſſion, and at the moment the troops were approaching the city, the populace, ſeized with an enthuſiaſtic ardour, drew their ſwords, made themſelves maſters of the keys of the city, raiſed the draw bridge, and ſecured all the gates: they immediately tranſmitted to London an account of their ſituation and danger, and ſolicited aid from the Prince of Orange. But the magiſtrates and graver citizens, fearful of the iſſue, of an enterprize ſo diſadvantageouſly undertaken, addreſſed themſelves to the deputy, through the mediation of Lord Mountjoy. They ſtated their inability to controul or reſtrain the populace, terrified by the rumours

of a maſſacre, and declared their determination to confine themſelves totally to ſelf defence, without violating their allegiance. Tyrconnel, endeavoured to correct his error in withdrawing the garriſon from Derry, when too late to rectify it. A detachment of ſix companies under the command of Lord Mountjoy, was ordered to Ulſter to reduce this city. Mountjoy being a proteſtant was highly acceptable to the people, who however abhored his forces. After various conferences Mountjoy was admitted upon conditions. It was particularly ſtipulated, that a free pardon ſhould be granted in the ſpace of fifteen days; and that in the interval, two companies only ſhould be quartered in the city; and that the forces afterwards admitted ſhould be formed of at leaſt one half proteſtants; and that the citizens ſhould keep the guard until the pardon was received; and that all thoſe who wiſhed to remove ſhould be left at liberty. Mountjoy aſſumed the command of the city, and was obeyed as a friend and an aſſociate. The example of Derry excited a generous emulation among the northern proteſtants; and Enniſkillen and many other towns refuſed admiſſion to Tyrconnel's army. In the mean time

time, Tyrconnel trembled in the capital, and ſeemed on the point of abandoning the kingdom. The Prince of Orange was now too much engaged in England, to attend to the affairs of Ireland. But what he had neither leiſure nor power to attempt openly; he laboured to accompliſh ſecretly with Tyrconnel. Richard Hamilton, a catholic general, ſent into England on the firſt alarm of an invaſion, was in ſome ſort his priſoner; this officer had ſerved in France with reputation, but was baniſhed on account of his imprudent addreſſes to the king's daughter. He was recommended to the Prince of Orange, as a perſon, who had conſiderable influence with Tyrconnel, and as he expreſſed the utmoſt confidence of perſuading the deputy to reſign the government of Ireland, the prince readily embraced the overture, that Hamilton ſhould repair thither for that purpoſe. When Hamilton arrived at Dublin, inſtead of executing his commiſſion, he adviſed Tyrconnel to retain poſſeſſion of his government; aſſuring him, that the affairs of England began to aſſume an aſpect favourable to James, and that nothing but the firmneſs of his friends was neceſſary to reinſtate him.

The deputy adopted Hamilton's advice, and employed him in Ireland; however he ſtill found it expedient to diſſemble, and therefore aſſured the proteſtant lords, of his readineſs to ſubmit to the Prince of Orange. The deputy ſo much impoſed on lord Mountjoy by his plauſible profeſſions of loyalty, that this nobleman was perſuaded to repair to James, in conjunction with the chief baron Rice, to repreſent the weak condition of Ireland, and the neceſſity of yielding to the times, inſtead of exaſperating his Engliſh ſubjects, by a fruitleſs attempt to conquer England with Iriſh forces. Mountjoy, after ſome ſtipulations with Tyrconnel in favour of the proteſtants, departed to execute his inſtructions; but on his arrival at Paris, was committed to the Baſtile, while Rice employed himſelf in ſoliciting ſuccours for the ſervice of James. Meanwhile Tyrconnel grew outrageous; and utterly denied the ſtipulations made with Mountjoy; he wreſted the arms yet remaining in the hands of the proteſtants from them in every place ſubject to his power; ſeized their horſes inſulted their perſons, and plundered their houſes. Temple, ſon of Sir William, at whoſe inſtance Hamilton had been

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ſent to Ireland, was ſo much affected at the melancholy iſſue of his advice, that in the bitterneſs of anguiſh, he put a period to his own life.

Let us now for a time turn our eyes towards England. On the Prince of Orange's approach to the capital, James found himſelf almoſt inſtantaneouſly abandoned, not only by his army but his friends and domeſtics; even his beloved daughter Anne forſook him. In the impetuoſity of ſuch popular currents as now prevailed, all private conſiderations are commonly loſt in the general paſſion; and the more principle a perſon poſſeſſes, the more apt he is on ſuch occurrences, to neglect his domeſtic duties. Although theſe conſiderations may in ſome manner account for the Princeſs Anne's behaviour on the occaſion, they had not at all prepared James to expect ſo aſtoniſhing an event. When the firſt intelligence of it was communicated to him, he burſt into tears. Certainly he beheld in this incident the final expiration of his royal authority; but the more intimate concern of a parent laid hold

hold of his heart, and in the extremity of his grief he exclaimed, "God help me, my own children have forſaken me."

It is remarkable, that James whoſe chief error conſiſted in indiſcretions and miſguided principles, ſhould be expoſed from religious antipathy, to ſuch treatment as Nero or Domitian never experienced from their friends and families.

James's fortune now expoſed him to the contempt of his enemies, and his conduct was not ſuch as could procure him the eſteem of his adherents Without fortitude to oppoſe the torrent, he preſerved not preſence of mind in yielding to it; but appeared in this juncture as caſt down with adverſity, as before he had been elated by proſperity. He ſummoned a council of all the peers and prelates who were in London; in conformity to their advice, he iſſued writs for a new parliament, and ſent commiſſioners to treat with the Prince of Orange. But theſe were the laſt acts he exerted of royal authority; for attending to imprudent council, by which he was prompted to deſert the throne he gratified his enemies beyond what their moſt ſanguine hopes could have promiſed them.

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The general deſertion of the Proteſtants, made James regard the Catholics as his only ſubjects on whoſe advice he could depend; and the melancholy fate of his father furniſhed them a plauſible argument for making him apprehend a ſimilar end. But in the preſent diſtracted ſtate of men's minds, the great diſparity of circumſtances was not duly conſidered. When England was inflamed by a long civil war, the execution of Charles I. ought not to be conſidered a national act, but that of a fanatical army, impelled by a daring and enthuſiaſtic chief: for the whole kingdom had ever entertained the utmoſt abhorrence againſt that enormity. Therefore the ſituation of public affairs, no more reſembled what they were in Charles's time, than the Prince of Orange could in any reſpect be ſuppoſed a parallel to Oliver Cromwel.

James's friends had conceived a very falſe idea which they inſtilled into him; that nothing would cauſe more general confuſion, and more retard the public ſettlement than his deſertion of the kingdom. The Prince of Orange with ſolid reaſon had embraced the contrary opinion, for he found it extremely difficult

difficult to deviſe expedients for ſecuring the kingdom, whilſt James kept poſſeſſion of the throne; wherefore the prince, actuated by this public motive, and no leſs we may preſume by private ambition, reſolved to uſe every device which might intimidate James, and oblige him to abandon the throne. The Prince declined a perſonal conference with James's commiſſioners, and ſent the lords Oxford and Clarendon to treat with them.

The terms the prince propoſed almoſt implied an immediate participation of the ſovereignty; and he delayed not for a moment the progreſs of his troops towards London. James every inſtant more and more alarmed with the proofs of a general revolt, not daring to confide in any but thoſe who were expoſed to more danger than himſelf, agitated by indignation towards ingratitude, and impelled by his own fears and thoſe of others; he raſhly embraced the reſolution of withdrawing into France; and ſo carefully had he concealed his intention, that nothing could equal the ſurprize which ſeized the city, the court, and the nation, on the diſcovery of this event. The better to involve all things

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in confuſion, James appointed none who ſhould, in his abſence, exerciſe any part of the government; he threw the Great Seal into the Thames, and recalled all thoſe writs which had been iſſued for elections to the new parliament. Some imagined that the ſole motive which induced James to this ſudden deſertion was a reluctance to meet a new parliament. But candour obliges us to ſay, that his ſubjects had firſt deſerted him and entirely loſt his confidence, that he had cauſe to entertain apprehenſions for his liberty, if not for his life, and that in his preſent circumſtances the conditions they would exact from him would be far from being moderate. By this temporary diſſolution of government; the populace were now maſters, and during their preſent ferment every diſorder might be apprehended from them. They roſe in a tumult and deſtroyed all the maſs-houſes, and attacked and plundered the houſes of the principal catholics. The Prince of Orange was not wanting to the tide of ſucceſs, which flowed in upon him, nor tardy in aſſuming that power, which the preſent exigency had put into his hands. Beſides the general popula-

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rity which attended the prince, a new incident made his approach to the capital ſtill more agreeable. A rumour aroſe, the effect of chance, or more probably of deſign, that the diſbanded Iriſh had taken arms, and commenced an univerſal ſlaughter of the proteſtants in England. This ridiculous fabrication was diſperſed over the kingdom in an inſtant, and every where occaſioned the utmoſt conſternation.

It was really ſurpriſing how any of the catholics eſcaped, in the rage that naturally follows ſuch popular alarms. When almoſt every one, either from intereſt, principle, or averſion, had deſerted the unfortunate James, who had alſo abandoned his own cauſe; the the unwelcome tidings arrived that he had been ſeized by the populace at Feverſham, while he was endeavouring to make his eſcape in diſguiſe, and that although he had been much abuſed, that the gentry had interpoſed and protected him. As ſoon as this intelligence arrived, the Prince of Orange ſent poſitive orders that the king ſhould not approach nearer than Rocheſter; but the orders came

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too late; for James arrived already in the metropolis,—where the populace moved by commiſſeration for his unhappy fate, and actuated by their own levity received him with loud acclamations and applauſes. During James's ſtay at Whitehall, little attention was paid him by any perſon of diſtinction; and he himſelf diſcovered little intention of reſuming the reins of government, which he had recently thrown aſide. His authority was now evidently at an end. While poſſeſſed of power he exerciſed it with very imprudent and imperious councils, and he relinquiſhed it with a deſpondence, equally imprudent and puſillanimous. The Prince of Orange it may be juſtly ſuppoſed, never harboured a thought of offering violence to his unhappy father-in-law! But at the ſame time, he was ſenſible, that nothing would ſo effectually forward his own views, as James's retreat into France, a nation at all times ſo obnoxious to England. Wherefore the prince reſolved to puſh James to a meaſure, to which his own timidity had already fully inclined him.

THE Dutch guards were ordered to take poſſeſſion of Whitehall, and to diſplace the Engliſh. Lord Feverſham having being ſent by James to the prince to requeſt a conference on the ſubject of an accommodation, in order to the public ſettlement, was areſted, under pretence of his not having a paſſport. A meſſage was brought to the king in bed after midnight from the prince, ordering him to quit the palace next morning, and to retire to a ſeat belonging to the Dutcheſs of Lauderdale.

JAMES requeſted permiſſion of retiring to Rocheſter, which was readily complied with. The prince had perceived that the artifice had taken effect; and that the king, terrified by harſh treatment, had renewed his former intention of quitting the kingdom. James obſerving that the church, the nobility, the city, the country, all united in neglecting him, ſubmitted to his melancholy fate; and being entreated by urgent letters from the queen, he privately embarked on board a frigate which waited for him, and arrived ſafe in France. Lewis received him with the greateſt generoſity ſympathy and eſteem, a behaviour that adds

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more to Lewis's glory than his moſt ſignal victories. Thus expired the reign of a king, who we may pronounce to have been more unfortunate than criminal, provided we conſider his perſonal character rather than his public conduct. He poſſeſſed many of thoſe qualities, which would compoſe a good ſovereign, were they not entirely immerſed in bigotry and arbitrary principles. In domeſtic life, his conduct merits approbation. When Duke of York, James was ſevere, but open in his enmities; brave in his enterprizes; diligent in his purſuits, and honourable in his dealings. When he aſcended the throne, his frugality of the public money was remarkable, his induſtry laudable; his encouragement of trade judicious, and his jealouſy of the national honour commendable: but he wanted a due regard to the conſtitution and religion of his country; this quality being wanting, every excellency he poſſeſſed, became dangerous and deſtructive to the realms he governed in.

While matters proceeded thus in England; Tyrconnel was confirmed in the proſecution of his meaſures in Ireland by a meſſenger

from James, with aſſurances that he would ſhortly viſit that kingdom at the head of a powerful armament.

The deputy however, had ſuffered the northern aſſociators to proceed unmoleſted to a conſiderable height. On aſſurance of ſupplies from England, they boldly proclaimed William and Mary in the north eaſt towns; but their exultation was ſoon allayed by Tyrconnel. He commanded them by proclamation to lay down their arms, and to diſſolve their aſſemblies. General Hamilton marched againſt them with a formidable body of troops, and after various ſkirmiſhes, forced the northerns to haſten by different routs to Derry, as their laſt refuge.

After the departure of Lord Mountjoy the government of the city of Derry had been committed to Lundy, a man who affected great attachment to the Proteſtant cauſe, and the utmoſt indignation at the tyrannical proceedings of Tyrconnel. However, on ſeveral accounts, Lundy was ſuſpected of partiality to James; yet ſo great was the Prince of Orange's

Orange's embarraſſment, that he was obliged to truſt and employ him.

At the moment when the citizens were extremely ſuſpicious of Lundy's deſigns, their agent fortunately arrived from London with aſſurances from the prince, that preparations were made for the relief and protection of Ireland. Animated by this information they now prepared for a vigorous defence. Lundy ſeemed to have caught the enthuſiaſm of the people and announced his reſolution of marching againſt the enemy.

CHAP. II.

James arrives in Ireland,—he marches againſt Londonderry.—The great Diſtreſs of Derry.—The Siege Raiſed.—Battle of Newtown-Butler. James aſſembles a Parliament.—His Declaration and Arbitrary Conduct.—The arrival of Schomberg in Ireland with an Army.—The Surrender of Carrickfergus—Great Diſtreſs of Schomberg's Army—The Crown ſettled on the Prince and Princeſs of Orange—The arrival of ſeven Thouſand Danes in Ireland.—James exchanges Iriſh for French Troops.

A. D. 1688. JAMES who had been earneſtly ſoliciting the court of France for ſuccour, at length obtained his requeſt. On the ſeventh of March this unhappy Monarch embarked at Breſt, with fourteen ſhips of war, ſix frigates, and three fire ſhips. His military forces conſiſted of about twelve hundred of his own ſubjects in the pay of France, and one hundred French officers; with theſe forces he arrived at Kinſale, and ſoon after made his public entry into Dublin amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants. Addreſſes were inſtantly

inſtantly poured in upon him from all orders of the people. He returned to each the moſt gracious and conciliating anſwer; but his fairеſt declarations were received with coldneſs and ſuſpicion, when all the remaining proteſtants of the privy-council were removed and men of different principles ſubſtituted in their places. He now iſſued five ſeveral proclamations: by the firſt he ordered all proteſtants who had abandoned the kingdom to return and accept his protection, under the ſevereſt penalties; and that his ſubjects of every perſuaſion ſhould unite againſt the Prince of Orange; the ſecond was deſigned to ſuppreſs robberies, commanding all catholics not of his army, to lay up their arms in their reſpective abodes; the third invited the country to bring proviſions to his troops; by the fourth he raiſed the value of money; and by the laſt, ſummoned a parliament to meet at Dublin on the ſeventh day of May, 1688.

Derry was conſidered by James as the place where his arms were likely to meet with the greateſt reſiſtance, and it therefore became the peculiar object of his attention. After various conſultations it was at laſt reſolved to

preſs the city by a ſlow ſiege; and James determined to lead his forces in perſon to the walls of Derry.

Amongst thoſe who took up arms againſt James, was George Walker, a clergyman and rector of a pariſh in the county of Tyrone. He was zealous and indefatigable in the defence of liberty and religion; he raiſed a regiment, and commanded it. Nor was he ſatisfied with diſcharging this ſervice, but flew from poſt to poſt, conferred with the leaders, and animated the people to a vigorous reſiſtance againſt the partizans of James.—Walker haſtened to Derry, and informed Lundy of the approach of James, entreating him to give the enemy battle, before their whole ſtrength was collected. Lundy in the mean time affected zeal and vigour.

The enemy having croſſed the river Bann, it became expedient to ſtop their progreſs over the Finn-water; Lundy therefore ſtationed his forces for this purpoſe, but in the hour of danger, he ſhamefully abandoned his poſt, and hid himſelf within the walls of Derry, ſhutting

ſhutting the gates againſt many of thoſe who ſought the ſame refuge.

During this operation two Engliſh Regiments arrived in Lough Foyle, the colonels of which had orders to put themſelves under the command of Lundy. They notified their arrival to him, and he in conſequence, directed them by letter to land, but to leave their troops on board and to come themſelves with ſome of their officers, to conſult on the meaſures neceſſary to be adopted in the preſent exigency; when there were ſcarcely proviſions in the city for ten days. Eleven officers from the ſhips, and five of the town formed a council of war; and in purſuance of Lundy's repreſentations, it was agreed on, that the place was not tenable; and that the principal officers ſhould privately withdraw from the city, and leave the citizens to make the beſt poſſible terms with the enemy. Theſe reſolutions being communicated to the town council, it was there alſo reſolved to offer terms of capitulation to James who now ſlowly advanced towards the city.—Theſe proceedings were no ſooner known to the people than they exclaimed againſt the governor, the council

council, and every ſuſpected officer, and cried aloud for vengeance againſt their betrayers. In the violence of reſentment, they ſlew one officer as he was haſtening to make his eſcape from the city, and they wounded another. During this ſtate of confuſion Murray, a brave and popular captain, arrived at the head of a reinforcement; and although, Lundy commanded him to retire, he inſiſted on entering the city and was received with acclamations.

Murray inveighed againſt the baſe purpoſe of ſurrendering to a perfidious enemy; the inhabitants liſtened to him with rapture; and while he expoſtulated with Lundy, they ruſhed to the walls, pointed the cannon, and fired on James and his advanced party, who approached to take poſſeſſion of the city. The more cautious and timid ſent a deputation to James to apologize for this violence; but the body of the citizens unanimouſly declared for reſiſtance. The authority of the governor, council and magiſtrates was no longer acknowledged or regarded. Lundy having reſigned, the people choſe for themſelves two new governors, a Major Baker, and Walker, the valiant eccleſiaſtic; with this view, that,

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if one ſhould fall, the garriſon ſhould not be without a commander. By theſe officers, they were formed into eight regiments, amounting to ſeven thouſand and twenty men, excluſive of their commanders.

In a ſhort time the reſolutions of the citizens becoming more calm and deliberate, they ſuffered the timid to depart without moleſtation; and Lundy, by connivance of the new governors, eſcaped in diſguiſe to the ſhips. All matters were conducted within the city with the greateſt regularity and compoſure; each regiment,—each company, had its particular ſtation. Eighteen clergymen of the eſtabliſhed church and ſeven diſſenting miniſters, cheerfully ſhared the labours and dangers of the ſiege; and alternately every day aſſembled the people in the cathedral church, where by the fervor of their devotions, and their animated exortations, they inſpired their hearers with the moſt enthuſiaſtic reſolutions.

The brave Murray flew from man to man, exciting ardour in their boſoms as occaſion might require. He told them, that it was not a few military evolutions, nor the movement

movement of arms by rule, the mere parade and foppery of war, that made ſoldiers ; but ſtrong bodies, ſtronger minds, the contempt of danger and of death. Or that if, in regular fields of battle, diſciplined troops had the advantage, yet that advantage was uſeleſs here, where the defenders fought behind walls, a ſituation by which thoſe who could bear moſt fatigue and ſtood longeſt at their poſts, muſt ultimately conquer. That the enthuſiaſm of religion might be added to that of courage, Walker aſſured the ſoldiers who were deſtined to fall in this cauſe of a ſure reception in Heaven, pointing firſt to the churches, then to the ſky; theſe were the holy places from which their enemies were to drive them, if they ſurvived with diſgrace.—That was the aſſylum prepared for them by their God, if they died with glory while fighting under his banners. It is no wonder that men whoſe paſſions were ſo wrought upon ſhould make an obſtinate defence ; but it ſeems ſurprizing that the catholics, who appeared to have as powerful motives of religion, and ſtill more powerful ſupport, and who neither waited for officers nor prieſts to encourage and exhort them, ſhould not have reduced theſe irregu-

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lar forces. The catholics, however were not ſo much diſtreſſed nor ſo firmly united; neither did the ſame neceſſity exiſt amongſt them to uſe ſuch extraordinary exertions for ſucceſs, that the others did for their ſafety. James continued his aſſaults for eleven days with unremitting but hopeleſs efforts; until at length impatient of diſappointment, he at laſt left the camp and returned to Dublin, without atchieving any thing worthy of notice.

WHILST theſe things were paſſing, Admiral Herbert attacked the French fleet near Bantry Bay, but was defeated and the enemy having effected the diſembarkation they had in charge, returned victorious to their own country. When James was told the Engliſh were thus defeated by the French; he exclaimed, "it is the firſt time!" this is one of thoſe ſpeeches for which ſome may admire his generoſity; but conſidering the French troops he had with him, and the hopes he reſted upon that nation, every man of reflection muſt condemn him for his folly. The Engliſh on this occaſion did not deſpair. No nation can vye with them in the happy facility of turning a defeat into a triumph.

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In this caſe the Prince of Orange knowing their diſpoſition, and believing they had not behaved ill, went to viſit the fleet, when it arrived at Portſmouth, dined with the Admiral on board his ſhip, and knighted him for his ſervices. In effect he praiſed thoſe whom he knew it was in vain to cenſure; he perſuaded them that they defeated the enemy, and they readily believed him: After the departure of James, the garriſon of Derry continued to defeat all the attempts of the beſiegers and to harraſs them by ſucceſsful ſallies. In all theſe expeditions the command was offered to any officer who would undertake it, a mode, which, though it may be diſapproved of by thoſe attached to the ſtrict rules of war, yet was very well adapted to theſe undiſciplined forces, whoſe ſucceſs depended more on their ardour than their knowledge in military manuvres. This method might perhaps be often practiſed even by regulars with ſucceſs, as ſorties moſtly depend on the vivacity with which they are conducted, and are generally deſigned to ſurpriſe an unguarded rather than to attack a provided enemy.

As the defence of Londonderry was much talked of in England, General Kirk was ſent out to aſſiſt the beſieged; and at a moment when the citizens of Derry were threatened with both diſeaſe and famine, they diſcovered thirty ſhips in Lough Foyle. On ſight of this fleet, the beſieged gave the uſual ſalutation of joy; but General Kirk poſſeſſed too little humanity to make any hazardous attempt for the relief of the garriſon. To the ſignals of the beſieged, Kirk returned no anſwer that evinced any alacrity, the enemy, while encouraged by his apparent irreſolution prepared to oppoſe his paſſage.

On each ſide of the Lough, where it grew narrow towards the city, they erected batteries, and arranged their forces on two oppoſite forts, while they extended acroſs the water, a boom, formed of ſtrong timber, joined with iron chains, and ſtrengthened with ſtrong cables. Kirk and his fleet ſoon after diſappeared, and from the Iſland of Inch, he ſent the beſieged the afflicting intelligence, that as he found it impoſſible to force a paſſage by the river for his ſtores and proviſions, he had retired to Inch,

ſuch, in order to make ſome diverſion to the enemy and to ſend proviſions to the proteſtant forces collected at Enniſkillen, with a coolneſs which rather inſulted than alleviated their diſtreſs, he aſſured them in terms of languid affection, that affairs in Scotland England and Ireland, were favourable to the new government and that great ſuccours would ſhortly be ſent them: yet he concluded with charging them to huſband well their proviſions; a caution more alarming than all the menaces of the enemy. Although famine and diſeaſe made daily ravages among them, yet when numbers of them were ſcarcely able to ſupport their arms, they menaced thoſe with inſtant death, who ſhould propoſe a ſurrender.

The women attended every ſervice, animating them by their cries, and often aſſiſting them with their hands. All the ſpare time of the garriſon was ſpent in private prayer or public devotion. Yet amidſt the union occaſioned by common danger, it was ſtrange, to ſee religious diviſions break forth.

The proteſtants and diſſenters inſiſted each to have poſſeſſion of the cathedral church, nor could

could mutual ſlaughter have been prevented, had it not been agreed, that one claſs ſhould attend ſervice in the forenoon, and the other in the afternoon. About the middle of ſummer, the weather being extremely ſultry, they were ſeized with peſtilential diſorders, and died in great numbers; among others, the brave Baker their governor fell a victim to the diſeaſe. Yet even death in this form, more dreadful than that of war, diſmayed them not; for ſo great was their horror againſt the beſiegers, that it overcame the moſt powerful antipathies of nature. Their proviſions having been exhauſted, they ſuſtained life by eating the fleſh of horſes, dogs and vermin; and even made deſperate ſallies, though too much weakened by hunger to purſue their advantage. In this ſituation general Hamilton preſſed them to ſurrender on terms that were reaſonable; but they reproached him with his own treachery.

Rosen who was ſent by James to command the ſiege, having more knowledge in the art of attacking places than the Iriſh generals, changed the diſpoſitions, inveſted the place more cloſely, and made many furious but unſucceſsful

ſucceſsful aſſaults. At length provoked by the valour of the garriſon, he adopted a meaſure unparalleled in modern times. He gave orders that all the proteſtant inhabitants ten miles around Derry ſhould be driven under the walls of the city; and he proclaimed if the garriſon did not ſurrender in the ſpace of ten days, they would all be put to the ſword. Five thouſand miſerable wretches, who were collected from the country all around, were driven accordingly with drawn ſwords, under the walls of the city.

This ſcheme weakened the ſpirit of James's army by its horror, and ſtrengthened thoſe of the beſieged, by turning a ſedate into a furious valour. Many of the wretched ſufferers driven to periſh under their walls, conjured them to attend to their own intereſt not theirs. For that a ſurrender to men void of chriſtian humanity, could not ſerve thoſe who were without, and would only involve thoſe, who were within, in one common ſlaughter.

The catholic officers executed their orders againſt their countrymen, with tears in their

their eyes; but nothing could ſoften the callous and unfeeling hearts of the French. The beſieged, on the other hand, erected a gibbet on the baſtion neareſt the enemy, and aſſured them, unleſs their friends were allowed to depart, that all the priſoners taken by the garriſon ſhould be inſtantly executed; and they wrote to the beſiegers to ſend confeſſors to prepare them for death. During two days and as many nights, the unhappy victims of Roſen's reſentment, remained under the walls, without meat, drink, fire, or ſhelter, where many hundreds of them periſhed. At the end of that time, ſuch of them as were able to depart, were permitted to do ſo. But thoſe who died, were the moſt fortunate; for the others, infected with diſeaſes, and filled with deſpair, beheld on all ſides, as they wandered homewards, their habitations reduced to aſhes; the ſmoak of ſome not yet extinguiſhed, and their cattle, furniture, and proviſions carried off. A ſilence pervaded the land; and they envied their companions who were at reſt from their miſeries. It would be an unfair and diſhonourable ſtigma on the memory of the unhappy, to aſcribe the diſgrace of this action to James; as he revoked the

order of the cruel Roſen, ſoon as he heard of it: his own misfortunes having probably ſoftened his diſpoſition, taught him to feel for the calamity of his enemies. Every miſerable reſource at laſt began to fail the intrepid garriſon of Derry, and means of ſubſiſtence could not be procured for more than two days; however the famiſhed throng, liſtened to the exhortations of Walker; and he aſſured them from the pulpit that the almighty would ſend them a ſpeedy deliverance. Kirk in the meantime, heard the cries and ſaw the fires. But though enraged, perhaps he was not diſpleaſed to ſee his own character for inhumanity exceeded by the French general; he however reſolved to make a deſperate effort to relieve the city. Two ſhips laden with proviſions, and convoyed by a frigate, advanced in view of both the garriſon and beſiegers. The enemy from their batteries and muſketry, thundered furiouſly on the ſhips, who returned their fire with equal ſpirit. The foremoſt of the victuallers ſtruck forcibly againſt the boom, and broke it, but rebounding with violence, ran a ground. The enemy exulted in loud acclamations and prepared to board her, while on the crouded walls of the garriſon

garriſon, the beſieged ſtood torpid with deſpair. In a little time however, the veſſel got off by the recoiling of her guns; and paſſing the boom, ſhe was followed by the other victuallers. The city being thus providentially relieved, on the next day the enemy raiſed the ſiege, after having continued it for near four months. The garriſon was reduced by diſeaſe, famine and the ſword, from near eight thouſand to five thouſand men. of theſe, more than one thouſand were unfit for ſervice, and the reſt ſo ſtrangely altered in their looks and geſtures, that their moſt intimate friends could ſcarcely recognize them.

Whatever might be the ſentiments of individuals; the body of the proteſtants rejoiced, and undoubtedly acquired ſtrength from the ſucceſs of the citizens of Derry; and in conſequence, they every where made the greateſt efforts to imitate their example, and to oppoſe the progreſs of a prince whom they never loved, and whom they now no longer regarded as their ſovereign. During the whole courſe of the ſiege, James's army had been greatly embarraſſed in their operations, by thoſe proteſtants who had aſſembled about Enniſkillen.

Lord Galway had marched to reduce them. He inveſted Crom Caſtle, their frontier garriſon, ſeated on Lough Erne; but as he found it impracticable to bring up his cannon, he had recourſe to ſtratagem. Eight horſes were employed to draw two pieces of tin, of a cylindrical form, and ſo coloured as to reſemble cannon. With theſe he threatened to batter the caſtle. The garriſon made ſignals of defiance, and being reinforced from Enniſkillen, drove the enemy from their trenches, and returned triumphant, with conſiderable booty, while the counterfeit cannon which had been drawn up with ſuch apparent difficulty, were exhibited as trophies. In the meantime the number of the northern confederates augmented, but they were neither furniſhed with arms nor ammunition until, the arrival of general Kirk, when they became ſo formidable that James determined to attack them by three different armies.—For this purpoſe Macarthy, a brave and experienced general, was ordered to encamp at Belturbet, with ſeven thouſand men, Sarsfield, another general of diſtinguiſhed abilities, led, an army from Connaught; and the Duke of Berwick prepared to attack them from the north. But

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by a ſingularity of fortune, the ignorance of their danger in all probability proved the means of their deliverance; for they knew only of the motions of the Connaught army; and they marched out with intrepidity, ſurprized the enemies camp, and routed them with conſiderable ſlaughter.

They had not a ſimilar ſucceſs againſt the Duke of Berwick; for ſome companies which had been detached to ſeize an advantageous poſt, venturing beyond the limits preſcribed, were cut to pieces by the duke on his approach to Enniſkillen, but Berwick immediately retired on the appearance of the governor of that town. Macarthy marched againſt Enniſkillen, and inveſted Crom Caſtle. An officer was detached to its relief, but the enemy advancing againſt him with a much ſuperior force, he was obliged to retreat. Macarthy purſued him, and a ſkirmiſh enſued, which was the prelude to a general action between both armies; Macarthy at the head of one, and Wolſley at that of the other. This engagement took place at Newtown-Butler.

The Northerns compenſated for their inferiority in number by their valour, and an abhorrence of the enemy, which excited their utmoſt exertion. Macarthy's army was defeated with great ſlaughter; and quarters were refuſed to all but officers. Two thouſand of the catholic troops, were ſlain in the field and and ſix hundred were forced to plunge into Lough Erne, where they periſhed. Macarthy and many others were made priſoners. The news of this victory was ſoon communicated to James's army, as they retired from Derry, and it ſerved no doubt to precipitate their flight. James had by this time returned to Dublin, where, in all the pomp and ſplendor of ſovereignty, he convened a parliament.

In the houſe of lords, a number of new catholic peerages, gave weight to that party; while the commons were almoſt entirely compoſed of Tyrconnel's creatures.

James, in a ſpeech from the throne; commended the zeal and loyalty of his Iriſh ſubjects; declared his abhorrence of violating either the rights of conſcience or thoſe of property;

perty; and that he would readily conſent to any laws for the good of the nation. A bill was immediately introduced, recognizing the king's title, and expreſſing an abhorrence of the Prince of Orange and his uſurpation. James now publiſhed a declaration, in which he expreſſed his determination to protect the properties, privileges and religion of his proteſtant ſubjects; but whatever might be his inclinations, he was at preſent totally enſlaved by different factions. The French Ambaſſador, affected to take the lead in his councils, and James was ſervilely attentive not to furniſh him with any pretence for complaint. All military promotions were conferred on Frenchmen, to the great diſſatisfaction and diſcontent of his Iriſh adherents. In parliament, however, the latter ſeized on an opportunity of providing for their own intereſts, without any attention whatſoever to the embarraſſed ſituation of the unfortunate James. They paſſed a bill for the repeal of the Act of Settlement a meaſure which ſtill rendered James more obnoxious to the people of England; although there is every reaſon to believe he diſapproved of the bill, and that neceſſity alone compelled

compelled him to ratify it. Unfortunately for James, the bill was not only a favourite object of the catholics, but it was warmly recommended by the French miniſter; and their united influence was too powerful to be oppoſed.

The purchaſers under the Act of Settlement preſented an addreſs againſt the bill, but James coldly replied, that he could not do evil, that good might reſult from it: And when ſome peers determined to enter their proteſt, he obſerved, that proteſts were uſual only in times of rebellion.

Thus paſſed the bill for the repeal of the Act of Settlement, with a preamble exculpating the Iriſh catholics from rebelling in the year 1641; and a clauſe by which the eſtates of thoſe, who reſided in any of the three kingdoms, and who had either aided or correſponded with the Prince of Orange from the firſt of Auguſt, 1688, were forfeited and veſted in the king.

In conſequence of this act, almoſt every proteſtant in the kingdom was deprived of his eſtate

eſtate. An act was alſo paſſed, by which a number of perſons in the ſervice of the Prince of Orange, and thoſe who had retired from the kingdom and did not return in obedience to James's proclamation, were all attainted of high treaſon, and adjudged to ſuffer the pains of death and forfeiture, unleſs within a limited time they would ſurrender.

Two thouſand four hundred and ſixty one perſons, of all orders and conditions were included in this arbitrary ſentence; which was likewiſe ſo framed, as to preclude the king from the power of pardoning, after the firſt of November, 1689.

In a few inſtances, James had the reſolution to adhere to ſuch meaſures, as he was convinced would be agreeable to the people of England. He oppoſed and defeated a bill for the repeal of Poyning's law; nor would he conſent to the eſtabliſhment of inn's of court in Ireland for the education of young lawyers; a point ſo long and ſo ardently purſued by the Iriſh catholics.

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Of the other acts paſſed in this parliament, the more remarkable were a ſupplement to the bill of attainder, by which the perſonal eſtates of abſentees were veſted in the king; one declaring that the parliament of England could not bind Ireland; and one againſt writs of error and appeals to England; one for liberty of conſcience; another for aboliſhing the proviſions formerly made for miniſters in corporate towns; and one for entitling the Romiſh clergy to all tithes and eccleſiaſtical emoluments payable by thoſe of their own communion.—James had a monthly ſubſidy granted him by the parliament, of twelve thouſand pounds, which was levied from lands; but this tax however grievous was inadequate to his purpoſe; and being unable to procure money from France, he, during the ſitting of parliament, by virtue of his prerogative, iſſued a proclamation, impoſing a tax to the like amount on all chattels.

Some of his council ventured to remonſtrate againſt this arbitrary meaſure, but without effect, "if I cannot do this," ſaid he, "I can do nothing."

James

JAMES in his preſent exigence had recourſe to an expedient which greatly irritated his Iriſh ſubjects. He ſeized the implements and engines of one Moore who enjoyed the right of a copper coinage in Ireland, by virtue of a patent of the late king, and he eſtabliſhed a mint in Dublin and Limerick. To theſe places were carried braſs and copper of the baſeſt quality, and from every pound weight of theſe materials, valued at four-pence, pieces were coined and circulated to the amount of five pounds in nominal value.

BY the firſt proclamation, they were made current in all payments, between James and his ſubjects, except in the duties on the exportation of foreign goods, money left in truſt, or due by mortgages, bills, or bonds; and James promiſed when this money ſhould be decried, he would receive it in all payments, or make full compenſation in gold and ſilver. His ſoldiers were now paid in this coin. The nominal value was raiſed by ſubſequent proclamations, and this baſe money was ordered to be received in all kinds

kinds of payments. As braſs and copper became ſcarce, the coin was made of tin and pewter.

It was obtruded on his ſubjects with circumſtances of the moſt flagrant injuſtice. Old debts of one thouſand pounds, were diſcharged by pieces of baſe metal, of the intrinſic value of not more than thirty ſhillings. And James by proclamation not only ſet a value on the ſtaple commodities of the kingdom, and demanded them at his own price, but moreover, he obliged the proprietors to accept his baſe coin in return; and with all the meanneſs of a trader, he exported his purchaſe to France.

James was not many months in Ireland when a mandamus was ſent to the univerſity, in favour of Greene, who had been formerly diſappointed of a profeſſorſhip. He was now deſigned to fill another office, that of a ſenior fellow of Trinity College; and although the ſevereſt vengeance was denounced againſt the college in caſe of non-compliance, yet they boldly, refuſed to obey the mandamus.

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They pleaded their own cauſe, and urged, at the ſame time, both the incapacity of Greene, and the falſe allegations of his petition. The iſſue of this unequal conteſt was ſpeedy and deciſive. In a few days, the fellows and ſcholars were forcibly ejected by James's ſoldiers; the communion plate, library, and furniture of the community were all ſeized, their chapel was converted into a magazine, and their chambers into priſons.

The members of the univerſity procured their perſonal liberty only by the interceſſion of the biſhop of Meath; and this on the expreſs condition; that on pain of death, three of them ſhould not meet together. James iſſued an order, that on more than five proteſtants ſhould meet together, even in churches, on pain of death: the apprehenſion of invaſion, was indeed pleaded for this deſpotic ſeverity, which however, was but too congenial to James's bigoted and illiberal principles. All men of ſound judgment muſt have eaſily foreſeen, that James by his imprudence and that of his council, was deſtroying his own views and deſigns; but it

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was his misfortune never to liſten to ſound advice, the common error of all weak minds.

Had James attended to the prudent ſuggeſtions of Lord Dundee, he would in all human probability, have attained the ſummit of his wiſhes. Lord Dundee, a Scotch nobleman of conſummate prudence and valour, who united in his perſon the ſpirit of an ancient hero, with all the fine accompliſhments of the gentleman; preſſed James to embark with a conſiderable part of his army for Scotland, a country where there were ſcarcely any regular forces, and where his preſence would fix the wavering, and awe the timid; and where, as Dundee urged, hoſts of ſhepherds would ſtart up into warriors, on the firſt waving of his banners on the mountains. James was told, that it was in vain for him to conſume time in completing the conqueſt of a country, nine-tenths of which, he had already under his dominion, and which nature itſelf ſeemed to have decreed ſhould follow the fortune of England. That the advantage which would accrue from bringing the remainder of Ireland under ſubjection would be trifling; whilſt, if the attempt ſhould fail, the diſgrace in ſuch a caſe would

would render the loſs the more important. In the preſent unſettled ſtate of things, while France threatened, while England was in open diſcontent, while Scotland was ready to burſt out into a flame, while Ireland was ready to ſhed her beſt blood in his cauſe, now was the time at once to ſhake a throne uſurped and unſettled, and to overwhelm a people who always trembled at the firſt report of an invaſion, but collected ſtrength, ſpirit, and union to oppoſe it, when long delayed.

It was urged if he failed of ſucceſs, it would be more glorious for him to do ſo in one great conteſt, than to wage war like a fugitive, waſting the proviſions, and weakening the ſtrength of his country. But theſe arguments were inſufficient to engage James to truſt himſelf in Scotland. He apprehended if he went to the Highlands, his conqueſt would be barren, and that his troops would melt away, overcome by famine and fatigue, as they wandered from hill to hill, like the miſts of the country; and if on the other hand, he repaired to the Lowlands, he would have to deal with a ſet of men, whoſe anceſtors had betrayed

trayed his royal father, and who, while they were contending againſt their king, imagined they were fighting for their God. Such reaſoning, weak and inconcluſive as it was, prevailed with James. But notwithſtanding, Lord Dundee was not idle in the cauſe of his maſter in Scotland. For he was firmly reſolved to kindle ſuch a flame of war, amidſt the barren hills of the north, as might ſpread terror and deſtruction over all the country. In order to cruſh Dundee, general Mackay was diſpatched by the Prince of Orange after him with conſiderable forces; and Mackay advanced towards the paſs of Killicranky, which was a road between high mountains. Dundee reſolving to fight him, abandoned that advantageous poſt, partly to animate his Highlanders by the boldneſs of the reſolution, and partly to render the defeat of his enemies the more compleat, if it ſhould take place; he therefore permitted Mackay to paſs the ſtraight without oppoſition, and delayed giving him battle till almoſt ſun ſet, when he ruſhed down upon them with ſuch fury, that he forced them to give way, by which 2000 of them were killed and 500 wounded. The reſt diſperſed of their

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own accord, and general Mackay was only ſaved by taking a way through the mountains, which lay weſtward of the paſs, while the Highlanders were occupied in plundering the baggage of the Engliſh army. But on the renewal of the purſuit, the gallant Dundee was mortally wounded; he fainted and fell from his horſe; when he recovered, he aſked how things were? Being told all was well; then ſaid he, I am well; and immediately expired.

During all this time, it was ſcarcely poſſible for the Prince of Orange, to act with neceſſary vigour in the ſupport of his friends in Ireland. The Engliſh forces if it might be deemed ſafe to employ them againſt James, could not be ſpared; new levies were therefore ordered and ſhortly embodied; but the arms in the Tower having been embezzled, it was neceſſary to ſend for a ſupply to Holland. In the mean time, the neglect of Ireland became a ſubject of popular complaint; and it was at length determined to ſend thither a body of troops. The levies for the ſervice of Ireland, conſiſted of eighteen regiments of infantry, and five of cavalry; but both the of-

ficers and ſoldiers were inexperienced in war. The chief command was given to the Duke of Schomberg, who, after many delays, ſet ſail on the 21ſt. of Auguſt with about ten thouſand of his forces, and part of his artillery. On the following day he landed near Bangor in in the county of Down.

The garriſons of Belfaſt and Antrim, retired at his firſt appearance, ſome to Liſburn, but moſt to Carrickfergus, as the place of greateſt ſtrength.

Schomberg immediately marched againſt Carrickfergus; and on his approach the garriſon parleyed; deſiring liberty to ſend to James for ſuccours, or for leave to ſurrender. The demand was rejected with ſcorn, and the ſiege was carried on in form, while ſix ſhips battered the town from the ſea. The garriſon required leave to march out with the honours of war; Schomberg however inſiſted on making them priſoners, but at laſt, allowed them to march out with their arms and ſome baggage, and to be conducted to the next garriſon. Schomberg's, ſoldiers murmured at this indulgence, and ſuch was their antipathy to

James's

James's men, both from religious and political motives, that without regard to faith or humanity, they fell furiously upon the garrison, wrested their arms from them, and were restrained from murder, only by the timely and vigorous interposition of the general.

Schomberg's army, by this time considerably augmented from England, advanced to Lisburn, Hillsborough, Dromore, and Loughbrickland. From all these places, the catholics fled precipitately with their cattle and effects, burning all the towns behind them. Schomberg threatened by a trumpet to give them no quarter, should they continue these depredations. The catholics abandoned Dundalk without injuring the town; and here the English army advanced in consequence of it. Such was the opinion which James's officers entertained of Schomberg and his army, that they resolved to quit their station at Drogheda. Tyrconnel had the honour of diverting them from a resolution so inglorious. He repaired to the main army at Drogheda consisting of about nine thousand men, and assured them of an immediate reinforcement of twenty thousand troops.

THESE ſuccours having arrived ſoon after, it was therefore reſolved to maintain their preſent ſtation. The country through which Schomberg had already marched, was full of bogs and mountains, where the enemy's cavalry could not harraſs him. That which now lay before him was plain and open, where the ſuperior numbers of James's army could eaſily ſurround him, and cut him off from all communication with his ſhips and his northern friends. Several of Schomberg's raw troops ſunk under the joint ſeverities of fatiguing marches and a rigorous ſeaſon; and many of them lay languiſhing on the roads. In ſuch circumſtances, Schomberg thought it imprudent to advance. Mareſchal Roſen immediately drew his forces towards Dundalk, while Schomberg fortified his camp againſt any attack of the enemy. In this unwholeſome and confined ſtation with a ſcarcity of all proviſions, Schomberg's ſoldiers ſoon become very ſickly.

IN the mean time, the enemy approached. One party was detached to ſeize a paſs near Newry, ſo as to fall on the rear of the Engliſh, but on the firſt appearance of oppoſition they ſuddenly retreated. Another party

party of Roſen's preſented itſelf before Schomberg's camp, but at the ſight of ſome cavalry, they retired to the main body. Then the whole army, with James at its head, was drawn out and diſplayed the royal ſtandard.

Though they advanced towards Schomberg, yet he continued to conceive that James had no intention of coming to an engagement. At laſt James ſeemed determined to ſtorm his camp. Schomberg now diſpatched orders to his cavalry to return from a foraging excurſion; and the Engliſh infantry were commanded to ſtand to their arms. Schomberg's orders were received with ſuch joy and alacrity, that even the ſick and languid ſeized their arms, in confidence of victory and were only ſolicitous to be relieved from their preſent diſtreſs.

But at a moment when a battle ſeemed inevitable, James withdrew his forces to Ardee. James's army affected great vexation at this retreat, and as if the ſtorming of Schomberg's camp were an enterprize of no danger, they imputed James's irreſolution, to a miſtaken lenity and tenderneſs for his

Engliſh ſubjects. The Engliſh on the other hand, with more reality, ſuſpected that James's motions were deſigned only to coutenance a conſpiracy, formed by ſome diſaffected individuals, to betray the camp.

The deſign was diſcovered on the enſuing day; the principal accomplices were executed, and a number of French ſoldiers were diſarmed by Schomberg, and tranſported to Holland. Sickneſs in the meantime made great havock in Schomberg's camp; while the enemy, who lay on more elevated ground, inſulted their calamities. But James's army were ſoon affected with ſimilar diſaſters, and their numbers were equally diminiſhed.

While Schomberg was preparing to retire into winter quarters, he was reinforced by ſome regiments from England and Scotland. Schomberg in order to preſerve theſe troops from the infection, reſolved to abandon this fatal ſtation, and for the preſent pitched a new camp beyond Dundalk. He ordered the ſick on board the ſhips; but theſe proving inſufficient for the purpoſe, he provided waggons to convey the reſt to Belfaſt. Notwithſtanding the utmoſt care

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and aſſiduity of Schomberg and his officers, numbers died, and the roads were ſtrewed with their carcaſes.

THIS ſcene of the ſick, the melancholy, the deſpairing and dying, was truly ſhocking to humanity; for it was ſuch a one as exhibited a lively picture of the dreadful calamities attendant on war; and while the braveſt acknowledged they felt for others, what they would ſcarcely own they felt for themſelves, it was a ſcene that produced ſuch a complication of horrors, as made even heroes tremble. As the army marched, the ſoldiers obſerved companies that had not twelve men left. In ſhort, out of 15,000 perſons who at various periods entered the Engliſh camp, above 8,000 died in camp, or afterwards expired of the diſeaſes they had contracted there

IN England, the moſt ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs were entertained from the military reputation of Schomberg. So much were his diſtreſſes concealed from them, that they had been aſſured his camp was in a flouriſhing condition; but when inſtead of reducing Ireland, the Engliſh learned that Schomberg was entrenching himſelf

ſelf againſt an enemy whom they long had been taught to deſpiſe; their pride was exaſperated; and all the factious part of the nation exclaimed in the ſevereſt terms againſt the prince's miniſters. About the ſame time the Prince of Orange forming a vain ſcheme to unite the Diſſenters with the eſtabliſhed church, diſobliged many thereby, and encreaſed the popular ferments. Old grievances were now inquired into, new meaſures inveſtigated, and the court found itſelf not a little embarraſſed between the oppoſite factions of Whig and Tory, who, though perfectly different in moſt of their political principles, yet both alike concurred in their endeavours to mortify the adminiſtration.

In the midſt of theſe ferments, Walker arrived in London, with an addreſs to the prince from the inhabitants of Derry. He was received with every mark of cordiality, and preſented with a gift of five thouſand pounds, for his intrepid conduct during the ſiege of Derry. Walker was conſulted on the ſtate of affairs in Ireland, and the Engliſh being greatly exaſperated by the unſucceſsful event of Schomberg's expedition, greedily liſtened to the

the information that Schomberg's misfortunes originated entirely in the neglect of one Shales, a purveyor to the army, by whose misconduct it was alledged Schomberg had been left in want of artillery horses, carriages, bread, forrage and medicines. In order to allay the indignation of the people, the prince proposed, that the commons should nominate commissioners to superintend all preparations necessary for the defence of Ireland. Thus the public animosity received a temporary abatement by this prudent management of the prince.

Before we advance farther in the progress of Irish affairs, it becomes expedient to recur to the proceedings of the English convention which assembled on the 22d. of January, 1689.

The commons, from the influence of present authority, as well as from the prevailing humour of the nation, were mostly chosen from the Whig party. After thanks were unanimously given by both houses to the Prince of Orange, for the deliverance which he had brought them; a memorable vote was in a

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few days paſſed by a great majority of the commons, and ſent up to the houſe of peers for their concurrence. It was contained in theſe words, "that king James the Second, having endeavoured to ſubvert the conſtitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract betwixt king and people, and having, by the advice of Jeſuits and other wicked perſons violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himſelf out of the kingdom, has abdicated the government,—and the throne is thereby vacant."

THIS vote, when carried to the upper houſe, met with great oppoſition, occaſioned by the factions of Whig and Tory in that houſe. The Tories though generally determined to oppoſe James's return, yet reſolved not to conſent to the dethroning him, or altering the line of ſucceſſion. A regent, with kingly power, was the expedient, which they propoſed; and a late inſtance in Portugal, ſeemed to give ſome authority and precedent to that plan of government. The leaders of the Whig party aſſerted, that a regent was unknown to the conſtitution,

ſtitution, except where the prince, by reaſon of his tender age, or infirmities, was incapable of a will; and in that caſe his will was ſuppoſed to be involved in that of the regent, and that a nation governed by regents or protectors would in proceſs of time tend more to a republic, than to a monarchy, whoſe hereditary regular ſucceſſion, as well as preſent authority, was fixed and appointed by the people.

They further aſſerted, that if there was any ill in the precedent of dethroning one king and appointing another, a ſimilar evil would reſult from eſtabliſhing of a regent. And moreover; allowing the young prince to be the legitimate heir, he had been carried abroad, where he would be educated in principles ſubverſive of the conſtitution and eſtabliſhed religion; and probably he would leave a ſon, liable to the ſame inſuperable objection. But if the whole line were cut off by law, the people would in time forget, or totally neglect their claim; an advantage which could not be hoped for, while the adminiſtration was conducted in their name, and while they were ſtill acknowledged to poſſeſs the legal title.

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This queſtion was agitated with great zeal by the oppoſite parties in the houſe of peers. The queſtion for a king was at length carried by two voices *only*, fifty-one, againſt forty-nine. All the prelates except two, the biſhops of London and Briſtol, voted for a regent.

The houſe of peers next examined by piecemeal the vote, ſent up to them by the commons. They firſt debated, "Whether there was an original contract between the king and the people," and the affirmation was carried by 53 voices, againſt 46. The next queſtion was. "Whether king James had broke that original contract?" and after ſome trifling oppoſition the affirmative prevailed. The houſe next proceeded to take into conſideration the word *abdicated*; and it was carried that *deſerted* was better. The concluding queſtion. "Whether King James having broke the original contract, and *deſerted* the government, the throne was thereby vacant?"

This queſtion cauſed in the diſcuſſion of it much more heat and contention than any of the former; but upon a diviſion, the Tories ſucceeded by a majority of eleven voices whereby the laſt article with reſpect to the vacancy

vacancy of the throne was rejected. The vote was then returned to the commons with theſe amendments.

The commons inſiſted on their vote, and aſſigned reaſons why the lord's ſhould retract their amendments. The lords were not convinced, and in order to ſettle this important queſtion, it was deemed neceſſary that a free conference between the houſes ſhould take place.

Never was a national debate ſurely of greater moment, or conducted by more able ſenators, yet their debates were ſo extremely frivolous that they more reſembled the verbal diſputations of the ſchools, than the ſolid reaſonings of legiſlators and ſtateſmen. However, in public tranſactions of ſuch importance, the real motives of any meaſure, are rarely avowed.

The Whigs, now the reigning party, united with the Tories, in order to accompliſh the revolution, therefore the Whigs did not inſiſt that the crown ſhould be declared *forfeited*, left

leſt that term might offend their new allies the Tories. Wherefore they artfully confounded together the king's abuſe of power and his deſertion of the kingdom, and they denominated the whole an *abdication* ; as if James had given a virtual, though not a verbal conſent to his dethronement. The Tories obſerving this obvious impropriety, the effect of the prudent compaiſance of the Whigs, inſiſted on the word *deſertion*, as much more applicable and ſignificant. The Whigs retorted on them, that notwithſtanding that expreſſion might with more juſtice be applied to James's withdrawing himſelf from the kingdom, yet it could not with any propriety be applied to his violation of the fundamental laws. And thus both parties, whilſt they from prudential or political conſiderations warped their principles, thus loſt the praiſe and merit of conſiſtency and uniformity ; the managers for the lords next maintained, that admitting the king's abuſe of power to be tantamount to an abdication, it could operate no otherwiſe than his voluntary reſignation or natural death, could do.

They inſiſted that it was a maxim in the Engliſh law, *that the throne was never vacant*, but on the deceaſe of one king was inſtantly filled by his immediate heir, who was entitled to all the authority of his predeceſſor. And that however young the ſucceſſor, or unfit to rule, however unfortunate in ſituation, though he were even a captive in the hands of his enemies; yet no juſt reaſon could be aſſigned, why, without any fault of his own, he ſhould be deprived of a throne, to which, by birth, he was ſo fully entitled.

The managers of the commons might have oppoſed theſe arguments by many ſpecious and ſolid reaſonings; they might have ſaid, that though on the natural death of one king, whoſe government had been agreeable to the laws, many inconveniencies would be endured rather than exclude his lineal heir; yet the caſe was different, when the people had been obliged to revolt, and dethrone a king whoſe illegal and arbitrary conduct, in every inſtance violated the conſtitution. That in ſuch revolutions, the government reverted to its firſt principles, and the people of courſe were conſtrained

conſtrained to reſort to their original right, &c. of providing for the public weal; though by means, which, on other occaſions might be conſidered irregular and violent. That the great ſecurity for allegiance was merely opinion, and that a ſyſtem of ſettlement ſhould be preferred to which it was moſt likely the nation would acquieſce and perſevere in. That James had withdrawn from the kingdom and conveyed his ſon abroad, and by ſuch conduct had involved his ſubjects in ſuch confuſion, anddifficulties that the intereſts of his family ought to be ſacrificed to the public ſettlement and tranquillity.

However reaſonable and plauſible theſe arguments appear, yet Hume ſays they were not advanced by the managers of the Whig-party, both becauſe they might imply an acknowledgment of the infant prince's legitimacy, which it was reſolved to keep in doubt and obſcurity, and alſo to direct a condemnation of Tory principles. The Whig managers were contented to ſupport the vote of the commons by artful evaſions, and both parties at laſt parted without coming to any kind of compromiſe. But

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at length the perſeverance of the commons conſtrained the lords to comply; and thus the vote of the commons without any alteration, paſſed the houſe of peers by a ſmall majority, and received the ſanction of every branch of the legiſlature which then ſubſiſted. During all theſe tranſactions, the Prince of Orange preſerved a total ſilence, as if he had been in no way concerned in them.

THIS conduct might be deemed laudable and highly meritorious, but it was the Prince's misfortune, through the whole courſe of his life, and on every occaſion, to be remarkable for a cold, dry, and diſtant addreſs, which he could ſcarcely diveſt himſelf of, or in any degree ſoften or familiarize, even where his own immediate intereſt was at ſtake. At length the prince condeſcended to expreſs his ſentiments, though in a private manner, on the preſent ſituation of affairs.

HAVING called together a few of his friends, he told them he heard ſeveral ſchemes propoſed for ſettling the government; that ſome

inſiſted on a regent, and that others wiſhed to confer the crown on the Princeſs Mary alone, wherefore, if they choſe either of theſe plans of ſettlement, he declared, it would be entirely out of his power to aſſiſt them in carrying it into effect; he ſtated that his concerns abroad were of too much moment to be relinquiſhed for ſo precarious a dignity; and that at preſent he had not as much leiſure as would be neceſſary to arange their disjointed government. He informed them, that having fully accompliſhed the end of his coming amongſt them, by reſtoring their liberty, it now belonged to the parliament to concert ſuch meaſures as they would deem moſt requiſite for the public ſettlement; for his part he would by no means interpoſe in their determinations.

It being now evident that nothing leſs than the crown would ſatisfy the Prince of Orange, the Princeſs Mary herſelf ſeconded his views, and ſacrificed every conſideration to conjugal fidelity and attachment, though it muſt be admitted ſhe was more obſequious on this occaſion, than the generality of her ſex would have been, conſidering her huſband was a man

man of ſo unſocial and unamiable a diſpoſition. The Princeſs Anne alſo concurred in the plan, and on the promiſe of an ample revenue, was ſatisfied to be poſtponed in the ſucceſſion of the throne.

All parties being now agreed, the convention paſſed a bill, whereby they ſettled the crown on the Prince and Princeſs of Orange; the ſole adminiſtration to remain in the prince; the Princeſs Anne to ſucceed next, after the Prince and Princeſs of Orange; Anne's poſterity after thoſe of the Princeſs of Orange, but before thoſe of the prince by any other wife. To this bill the convention annexed a declaration of rights, where all points which of late had been diſputed between king and people were finally determined; and the royal prerogative more limited and more accurately defined than in any former period of the Engliſh monarchy. We have already ſtated, that the popular ferments in England, on account of Schomberg's ill ſucceſs in Ireland had been ſomewhat abated by the prudence of committing the care of Ireland to the parliament. Notwithſtanding the

people ſoon remonſtrated with double violence againſt the miſcarriages in Ireland; and reſolved that King William ſhould be addreſſed to take theſe into his conſideration, and to find out the authors of them. At this time William was conſideraby thwarted in money matters by the parliament, and he was even mortfied, ſo far as to have a committee appointed, to examine into the management of his private finances.

William had alſo his troubles on the Princeſs Anne's account. As ſhe had poſtponed her pretenſions to the crown in William's favour, ſhe conceived from ſuch a ſacrifice much was due to her; and having as yet no ſettled revenue allowed her, ſhe made frequent complaints on that head. She had a ſtrong party in the commons, who at laſt addreſſed William to ſettle 50,000l. a year upon her, out of a revenue which was hardly adequate to anſwer his own purpoſes, and which was only granted him from year to year, by the mere bounty of the people.

At length William, diſtracted between Whigs and Tories, upon ſome recent advances, reſolved to cloſe with the latter and to undertake the war of Ireland in perſon; to this reſolution he added a deſign of leaving the queen as regent, to manage parties by herſelf, in the beſt manner ſhe could. There were ſome who wiſhed to diſappoint William in his determinations, but he fruſtrated their deſigns by diſſolving the parliament, and adopting every means to conciliate the affections of his new friends the Tories; and of diſgracing the Whigs, of whom, although they had raiſed him to the throne, he now began to be beyond meaſure fearful and jealous. In the mean time, William ſent cloaths, arms and ammunition to his troops in Ireland; and 7000 well appointed auxiliaries from Denmark, landed at Belfaſt, under the command of the Duke of Wirtemberg.

A. D. 1689 Schomberg's troops having recovered ſome degree of their former vigour, were employed in furniſhing the frontier garriſons with ſtores; nor was James leſs aſſiduous in forming magazines, and preparing for the campaign. James it

was ſaid, had formerly expreſſed a reſolution of confiding to his own troops for ſucceſs, but he now accepted of five thouſand French troops, for an equal number of Iriſh tranſported to France, a meaſure however, that was not attended with the advantage that had been expected; for James's new auxiliaries were not only extremely refractory, but would not acknowledge any other ſuperior than their own commander: who attending only to the the intereſt of his troops, conſidered himſelf in an enemies country, and lived at free quarters.

CHAP. III.

CHAP. III.

James's disappointment by the loss of his last Frigate and the Fort of Charlemont;—William prepares for his Expedition to Ireland—a Conspiracy against him defeated—Arrives in Ireland.—Battle of the Boyne.—Duke Schomberg killed.—James's arrival at Dublin.—He embarks for France,—several Forts surrender to William.—Siege of Limerick.—William embarks for England.—Earl of Marlborough arrives in Ireland.—Cork surrenders.—Kinsale reduced—great Disorders in Ireland Reduction of Athlone.—Battle of Aughrim,—Siege of Limerick.—Capitulation of Limerick.

A. D. 1690. A TRIVIAL incident served to increase the mortification of James. The only frigate he now retained of the royal fleet, lay in the bay of Dublin ready to convey to France some small vessels laden with various goods, for which he had obtruded his base coin on the proprietors. But Sir Cloudesly Shovel, who sailed from Belfast with a few ships, after some resistance took the frigate, with the whole convoy. But

James

James, however mortified by this incident, was ſtill more ſenſibly affected by the loſs of Charlemont. This fort was conſidered ſo ſtrong, and ſo well provided, that Schomberg, in his progreſs had not ventured to attack it. To harraſs and diſtreſs the garriſon, Caillemote, a brave French officer in William's ſervice, had been poſted on the banks of the Black-water with a conſiderable force, in the ſpring.

As the ſeaſon advanced, Charlemont was more cloſely inveſted, and the governor ſummoned to ſurrender; which O'Regan, its governor, refuſed to comply with; but the garriſon having ſuffered intolerable diſtreſs, he at laſt propoſed terms of capitulation, and was allowed to march out with all the honours of war. During theſe tranſactions ſeveral new regiments of Engliſh and Dutch arrived in Ulſter; and the army was every day encouraged with aſſurances, that William would ſoon join them. As ſoon as William made his reſolution of viſiting Ireland known, a dangerous conſpiracy was formed in England by certain diſcontented perſons,

perſons, which was to be put in execution during William's abſence in Ireland, in order to bring England once more under the dominion of James. But luckily the plot was diſcovered and completely fruſtrated.

A. D. 1690. At length on the 14th of June in the year 1690, William landed at Carrickfergus amidſt the acclamations of the inhabitants. He was attended by Prince George of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond, and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. William, determined on a vigorous proſecution of the war, advanced to Liſburn, and Hillſborough, where he commenced the firſt exerciſe of his civil authority, by an act highly acceptable to the Diſſenters of Ulſter. William iſſued a warrant, granting the diſſenting clergymen of the North, who had acted with ſo much zeal in his cauſe, an annual penſion of twelve hundred pounds.

William's whole force aſſembled at Loughbrickland, from their different quarters, where they were joined by him and his ſuite. His army conſiſting of thirty ſix thouſand men, well appointed, now advanced ſouthward, to decide

decide the fate of Ireland, while the fleet coaſted ſlowly in view, to provide them with neceſſaries.

In the mean time, ſeventy-eight French ſhips, in conſequence of an agreement with the Engliſh malecontents before-mentioned, appeared off the Engliſh coaſt, and although the plot had been already diſcovered, yet theſe ſhips created ſuch an alarm, that the Engliſh and Dutch fleets, ventured to meet them and give them battle.

The fleet met, and a great and formidable engagement took place, off Beachy-head, in which a great number of Dutch ſhips were burned, ſhattered and deſtroyed; and the Engliſh fleet was defeated, and purſued by the French, as far as Rye Bay, where they ſtopped to try what effect the victory would have on James's friends in England.

William not hearing of this defeat, however well informed he was that the French had a naval power hovering on the Engliſh coaſts, kept all his troops in a body, and marched on through the courſe which Schomberg

berg had purſued before him, fully reſolved, while things were at ſuch a criſis both by ſea and land to ſtrike ſome deciſive blow.

When James received the news of William's arrival he committed the guard of Dublin to a militia under the command of Luttrel the governor, and marched with ſix thouſand French infantry to join the main body of his army, which now were ſtationed near Drogheda on the bank of the river Boyne. James's army conſiſted of about thirty three thouſand men. His council of officers adviſed him not to riſk an action againſt ſuperior forces, but to maintain a defenſive war, until, among other reaſons offered, the diſcontents in England ſhould begin to operate more effectually in his favour. However James actuated by his uſual infatuation contended for vigorous meaſures, and expreſſed his ſatisfaction that he had at laſt an opportunity of one fair battle for the crown. Yet with an ominous precaution, he diſpatched Sir Patrick Trant one of his commiſſioners of revenue to Waterford, to prepare a ſhip to convey him to France in caſe of any diſaſter.

On the laſt of June, at the firſt dawn of Day, William's army advanced towards the Boyne in three columns, he himſelf marching at the head of his advanced guard, which ſoon appeared within a few miles of Drogheda. Here William from the ſummit of an hill took a view of the enemy. James's forces had Drogheda on their right, a moraſs difficult to be paſſed on the left; in their front the fords of the Boyne, deep and dangerous, with rugged banks, defended by ſome breaſt works, behind which lay rows of hedges, and above them ſeveral ſmall hills. On their rear at ſome diſtance lay the village of Dunmore; three miles farther was the village and paſs of Duleek, which in caſe of a defeat would conſiderably favour James's army.

Here James called a council of war to determine on the ſum of things, ſome of the more cautious of his Iriſh officers adviſed James to let his army fall back and retire behind the Shannon; they urged that to retire was no diſgrace, when the retreat would eventually lead to victory. And as the chances of war were ſcarcely ever ſo equal as

to

to render it alike advantageous for two oppoſing generals to engage at one time, wherefore the ſame motives which impelled William to ſeek an engagement, ſhould for the ſame reaſon point out to James that he ought as much as poſſible avoid coming to one. They obſerved alſo, that at preſent William's army was ſtrong in numbers and his own weak, whereas, if James had patience, the contrary would preſently become the caſe; for William's ſtrength would ſoon moulder away, as Schomberg's army had done, while his own forces being uſed to the air and climate, would not be expoſed to ſuch diminution from diſeaſes.

It was by this time known, that James's allies the French, were maſters of the ſea, and that more forces were on their way to join him from abroad, and more might alſo be raiſed at home if he pleaſed; while his enemies could not poſſibly get an encreaſe from either. That in retreating to the interior parts of the kingdom, he could draw proviſions wherever he went, from the garriſons around and behind. But by advancing into thoſe parts, William would loſe the ſupplies from his

his fleet, and would not eaſily procure any other in an hoſtile land. Even without hazarding a battle at all, the war might be terminated, for if the French fleet ſhould deſtroy the ſhips which attended William, and block up the channel between England and Ireland his army would fall, and fall almoſt without a blow. On the other hand the impatient ſpirits in James's army urged, that to fly was to be conquered in effect. That to abandon his capital was to give up the kingdom, that his ſubjects would be animated when they beheld their ſovereign in arms diſputing the field, but would follow him with ſcorn if he fled; and finally, that it became his name and reputation in arms to ſet all upon the firſt great caſt, which offered itſelf, and which would moſt likely turn up in his favour, ſince the conſcience of the uſurper, together with the fears and compunction which James's preſence would naturally excite, would operate in his favour, and effectually contribute to William's defeat.

Nothing could be more abſurd than the whole mode of reaſoning adopted by thoſe who

who were anxious for the battle; but as thoſe arguments are commonly moſt adapted to perſuade, which are addreſſed to the paſſions, and vanities of men, ſo theſe prevailed with James, who entertained an high notion of the ſacred majeſty of hereditary monarchs; and he doubted not but his preſence would awe his Engliſh ſubjects in this country, totally forgetting with what mortifying contempt ſome of theſe very ſubjects had treated him, when in England.

In the mean while, an event took place, which had nearly obtained a bloodleſs victory for James. When William's army had encamped on the oppoſite ſide of the Boyne, he, being anxious to inform himſelf fully of the enemies ſituation, advanced with ſome officers, within muſket ſhot of a ford oppoſite the village of old-bridge: here, having reconnoitered the enemy, he ſat down on the ground, to take notes of what he had obſerved.

Neither the motions of William nor of his army were unobſerved by James's troops. Berwick,

Berwick, Tyrconnel, Sarsfield, and ſome others, rode ſlowly along the oppoſite banks, and diſcovered William's preſent ſituation. A party of about forty horſe were immediately ſent by them into a plowed field, oppoſite where William ſat. In their centre they concealed two field pieces, which they planted, unnoticed, under cover of a hedge and marched on. As ſoon as William mounted his horſe, the cannon, were diſcharged, by which one of his followers was killed and two horſes at a ſmall diſtance from William himſelf. Another ſhot inſtantly followed, and the ball grazed on the banks of the river, thence aroſe, and ſlanting on William's right ſhoulder, wounded him ſlightly. His attendants crowded around him in great confuſion. A ſhout of exultation rung through James's camp, that Orange was no more. The news was conveyed rapidly to Dublin and thence to Paris, where it was received by Lewis with the utmoſt tranſports of joy, as he was William's moſt inveterate enemy. But William having got the wound dreſſed, immediately mounted his horſe again. He rode through his camp to ſhew himſelf, as well as to encourage and animate his ſoldiers.

WILLIAM, concluding from the news he daily received, that there was an abſolute neceſſity for fighting, and James having removed ſome of his artillery, cauſed him to apprehend that a retreat was meditated by the enemy; wherefore, William, in an aſſembly of his officers, declared his determination to paſs the Boyne next morning in front of the enemy, an enterprize which many of his principal officers, and Schomberg in particular, attempted in vain to diſſuade him from. William on this occaſion acted with a laudable degree of propriety; for there are times, when a man's judgment, being fully convinced of the mode of action he ought to purſue, that it would be weakneſs to be diverted from it. ſuch now was William's caſe.

THUS determined, William next morning at dawn, ordered the river to be croſſed in different places; which was effected without much oppoſition. Then advancing they found the enemy drawn up in two lines. In forming William's forces, the horſe and foot were mixed, ſquadron with battalion, but on the arrival of freſh infantry, they changed their

poſition, and by drawing the horſe to the right, they conſiderably by this means out-flanked the enemy. But they were obliged to force their way through fields incloſed with deep ditches, extremely difficult to be croſſed, eſpecially by the horſe, as they were obliged, in the face of the enemy to advance in order. When William's troops had ſurmounted theſe obſtacles, beyond them lay a moraſs ſtill more embarraſſing. However, the enemy plunged in, while the horſe found a firm paſſage to the right, through which they forced their way.

The enemy, aſtoniſhed at their intrepidity, fled inſtantly towards Duleek and were purſued and conſiderably harraſſed by Count Schomberg the duke's ſon. But James's left wing being reinforced from his centre, Schomberg was preſſed hard and obliged to retreat.

In the mean time, William's main body conſiſting of the Dutch guards, ſome Engliſh battalions and ſome regiments of French Hugonots, paſſed the river, which roſe to their waiſts. Many of the battalions formed themſelves without any material oppoſition ; but

but before the reſt could come up to their ſupport; general Hamilton at the head of James's horſe, charged them ſo furiouſly that they were thrown into immediate diſorder. The Dutch and French hugonots were inſtantly broken, and on the point of betaking themſelves to flight; the Daniſh troops plunged into the river, whither they were purſued by Hamilton's dragoons. Duke Schomberg who waited to ſupport his friends on any dangerous emergency, now plunged through the river and placed himſelf at the head of the hugonot forces; who at that moment, were deprived of their brave leader Caillemotte, but Hamilton's horſe on their return from the purſuit of the Danes, wounded Schomberg and took him priſoner, and were hurrying him away when he was killed by a ſhot from his own men. At the ſame time Walker, the famous defender of Derry, impelled by a paſſion for military glory, more becoming a ſoldier than an eccleſiaſtic, attended the battle of the Boyne, and received a wound of which he inſtantly expired.

When William heard of Walker's death he pertinently exclaimed, "fool, what had he to do there?" A ſhrewd remark, which expreſſed at once the penetration of William, and ſtrongly pointed out the impropriety of men's ſeeking for fame, in ſtations where it is not allotted for them.

In this quarter, all went in favour of James's troops, who were now preparing to charge William's centre, and finiſh the battle by one vigorous effort. But at this inſtant William himſelf who had paſſed the Boyne with his left wing, appeared ready to attack them in flank, which unexpected danger threw the victors into a conſternation, that ſpreading from man to man, entirely diſpirited a people too ſoon elated and as ſoon depreſſed; and occaſioned them to retire to Dunmore, where they once more made ſuch a ſtand, as baffled their purſuers, and even forced the Engliſh cavalry, with William at their head, to recoil.

The Enniſkilleners, whoſe courage was ſo much boaſted of, were forced to give way, and nothing but freſh ſuccours prevented a general

ral rout; nor had even theſe ſaved them, otherwiſe than by covering their retreat, but that the brave Hamilton again charging the enemy with too great impetuoſity, but too little caution, was wounded in the arms of victory made priſoner by the Engliſh and immediately conveyed to William. The reputation of Hamilton was ſo great that his loſs turned the fortune of the day; while James's army was routed and fled by the paſs of Duleek. James's loſs in this action is computed at fifteen hundred men and the Engliſh loſt about five hundred who fell in the field. After this defeat, James ſeemed to have loſt all ſpirit and all conduct. Though he might have found means eaſily to have repaired his loſs and ſtill kept the field in a country entirely devoted to him, yet he thought of nothing but retiring, He went firſt to Dublin, and next to Waterford and on his way, broke down all the bridges behind him, and prepared to embark for France. In his flight he received letters that rendered his deſign more plauſible, but he had formed his reſolutions before theſe diſpatches arrived. Theſe letters informed James that Lewis had obtained a ſignal victory

on the continent; and that his fleet had taken ſuch a ſtation as completely prevented his enemies from ſuccouring each other; on this account king James was requeſted to embark for France directly, that he might be landed in England with thirty thouſand men, and leave his generals to *protract* the war in Ireland; but that unfortunate prince had already precipitated it. however his ſpirits were as much elated by the news contained in theſe letters, as they had been depreſſed by his ill ſucceſs at the Boyne. James haſtened to comply with Lewis's requeſt and in his paſſage met with a fleet of frigates deſtined to burn and deſtroy William's ſhipping on the the coaſts of Ireland. But James heaping abſurdity on abſurdity, prevented the frigates from going on this ſervice; and took them along with him to France, as a protection to his perſon. When he arrived at Paris, Lewis finding that James had brought back theſe ſhips with him, and hearing of his defeat, and alſo that the conſpiracy in England had been cruſhed, Lewis, to the no ſmall diſappointment of James excuſed himſelf from fulfilling his engagement, and would not truſt him

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with either ſhipping or men. Lewis muſt have clearly ſeen the weak conduct of James, and not only that fortune had completely forſaken him at the preſent criſis, but ſeemed to mark him as a victim for her future vengeance: he conceived, poſſibly, it would therefore be fruitleſs to make any further efforts in ſo hopeleſs a cauſe.

Immediately after the battle of the Boyne, William ſummoned the garriſon of Drogheda to ſurrender, and in caſe of non-compliance, in imitation of Cromwell's barbarous policy, threatened to put them all to the ſword. William now gratified his Engliſh adherents, by iſſuing a commiſſion for ſeizing the poſſeſſions of thoſe that warred againſt him; all which were confiſcated by virtue of William's commiſſion alone, and no courts of judicature were at the time opened for proceeding regularly in the buſineſs. This meaſure ſerved only to confirm the catholics the more in their averſion to the new government; and they therefore reſolved to renew the war with the utmoſt animoſity. In eight days after the victory of the Boyne, William divided his army,

army, he himſelf marched ſouthward along the coaſt. General Douglas was diſpatched with all the cavalry to purſue James's forces and harraſs them in their retreat. Wexford, Waterford, and Duncannon Fort were taken in conſequence of theſe arrangements: Douglas proceeded in his expedition to Athlone, marched as through an enemy's country, his men plundering and murdering all before them.

By ſuch barbarities Douglas's army became abſolutely odious. When they appeared before Athlone, Douglaſs ſent a ſummons to the governor of the town whoſe name was Grace. He returned a paſſionate defiance. Grace fired a piſtol at Douglas's meſſenger, and ſaid, "*theſe are my terms.*" Douglaſs carried on the ſiege for a conſiderable time without any effect, and at length, after ſeveral diſaſters, the Engliſh were obliged to decamp at midnight, and by difficult marches joined William who with his forces were now advanced to Limerick. William having reſolved to reduce Limerick, if poſſible, this campaign; advanced towards the town on the ninth of Auguſt and ſummoned it to ſurrender. One

Boiſſeleau,

Boiſſeleau, a French man, was the governor, and the Duke of Berwick and colonel Sarſfield acted under him. To the ſummons Boiſſeleau replied that he wiſhed to gain the Prince of Orange's good opinion, and knew no method ſo likely for him to obtain it, as to defend well the poſt committed to his charge; a gallant anſwer, but leſs boiſterous than that of Colonel Grace, the Governor of Athlone. It was but three days after the ſiege of Limerick commenced, that Sarsfield, having intelligence that a convoy with artillery and other neceſſaries for the ſiege was on its way to join the Engliſh army; iſſued out of the town by a ſecret way, paſſed the Shannon in the night, intercepted the convoy, ſpiked the cannon, blew up the powder, deſtroyed all the reſt of the ammunition, and retreated in ſafety by the ſame way he came, before it was poſſible for the beſiegers to prevent him. William was reſolved to carry on the ſiege, notwithſtanding theſe unlucky auſpices, and at length a breach being made, he ordered it to be ſtormed.

THE troops accordingly advanced, carried the counterſcarp, and mounted the breach; but the garriſon, emulous to do ſomething equal to the atchievements of the proteſtants of London Derry, quickly ſhewed the beſiegers that the reduction of the town would not be ſo eaſy a taſk as they ſeemed to ſuppoſe.

THE women likewiſe joined their efforts to thoſe of the men, and notwithſtanding a violent aſſault upon the breach, the garriſon repulſed the Engliſh with great carnage, after a conteſt of three hours. Five hundred men ſlain, and one thouſand wounded made up the loſs which the Engliſh ſuſtained in this unſucceſsful attempt, that of their auxiliaries was nearly as great. After this repulſe William ordered a retreat. Thus terminated the period of William's perſonal enterprizes in Ireland.

LEAVING the command of the army to Count Solmes and general Ginkle, and having appointed Lords-juſtices, William embarked at Duncannon Fort for England. From theſe miſcarriages, as well as from other circumſtan-

ces of a ſimilar nature, ſome perſons who were inimical to William, took occaſion to remark "that he never undertook a ſiege which he was not obliged to raiſe, nor ever fought a battle, where he gained a complete victory, one only excepted, and that was againſt his own ſubjects." Although the catholics had preſerved Limerick againſt the efforts of the whole Engliſh army, with William at their head; yet they loſt Cork and Kinſale to the earl (afterwards Duke) of Marlborough, who was entruſted with five thouſand Engliſh troops, and being joined by the Duke of Wirtemberg with four thouſand Danes had arrived in Ireland where, in a few months; he had made himſelf maſter of theſe important places. James now apparently deſpaired of deriving any advantage from the troubles in Ireland; he therefore ordered Tyrconnel to make the beſt terms he could for his party there, and then to withdraw himſelf from the government of that kingdom. But William, in an amneſty which he had lately iſſued, excepted from the general pardon, "the deſperate leaders of the rebellion" almoſt every perſon of any note or conſideration ſuppoſed himſelf

himſelf liable to be included in, or attacked under the above proſcription; wherefore by the manner in which theſe ſentiments operated on the minds of the principal people, William might as well have excepted the whole of James's adherents from the general pardon; although the catholics did not look on themſelves as rebels, as they were fighting the cauſe of a prince who had been ſolemnly proclaimed their king, and to whom they had ſworn allegiance. But now perceiving, that they were to be comprehended under that deſignation and viewing the whole of their ſituation and concomitant circumſtances: deſerted by James, and by Tyrconnel alſo, when he could not perſuade them to a peace with William; forſaken likewiſe by the Duke of Berwick, who remained longer among them, endeavouring to prevail on them to relinquiſh their purſuits; deſpair, and reſentment urged them to the adoption of meaſures for a vigorous defence.

The ſituation of the catholics was at this criſis truly deplorable, they were now going to be ſacrificed by James, as before they had been

been by Charles, who cruelly abandoned them when they were reduced to diſtreſs, thereby committing them to certain deſtruction for his cauſe, when he no longer conſidered it his intereſt to ſupport them; that, attached as they were to James, it was not the firſt time they had been deſerted by a Stuart. James had upbraided them with cowardice, but although this charge could not by any of their actions be ſupported, yet they were reſolved to wipe off the imputation, by convincing him they would fight for themſelves, and notwithſtanding their low and unſupported condition, either enſure victory, procure an honourable peace, or die with arms in their hands.

It ſeemed to be the determination of all, to find their own reſources, and truſt to them alone. Upon this the Duke of Berwick finding his ſituation far from being agreeable, returned to France, leaving the command of the forces to Sarsfield. This commander had defeated William's attempts upon Limerick; the ſucceſs of which had raiſed his reputation to an high degree among his countrymen.

trymen. Sarsfield having been attainted, his revenge and his intereſt now became united to his thirſt for military glory, reſolving by every means in his power, to ſtimulate his countrymen to a vigorous reſiſtance againſt their foes, he was therefore every where active amongſt them. But whilſt both armies were well enough inclined for action, the people on both ſides ſuffered unſpeakable miſeries. The troops diſperſing into winter quarters, committed plunder and depredations in the progreſs of their march; the neglect of agriculture in moſt places, having rendered the country unable to ſupport them.

The French, on the ſide of the catholics, and the Danes and Dutch on that of the Engliſh, conſidered themſelves as in an enemy's country, and therefore made no ſcruple to ſubſiſt on rapine and devaſtation. To complete the ſcene of miſery, a banditti known by the appellation of rapparees, crowned their exceſſes by acts of the moſt wanton and capricious barbarity, while the different parties took theſe wretches into their ſervice and employed

employed them to harraſs and deſtroy each other. But the rapparees were ſeldom of any other uſe in ſuch caſes than to heighten the horrors of war by monſtrous acts of cruelty and inhumanity. They burned, pillaged, and deſtroyed whatever came in their way; mercy they neither gave nor expected, and their routs were ſcarcely otherwiſe to be traced, than by the fires they lighted up in the country, and the cries of the wretched and miſerable inhabitants.

While thing's were thus ſituated in Ireland, William, who had been terrified with a freſh plot, which narrowly eſcaped from been put into execution, gave orders to Ginkle, on whom the ſole command had devolved, to put a period to the Iriſh war at all events. James on his part had ſent back, with what money he could ſpare, Tyrconnel to command the army, but Sarsfield grew jealous on this occaſion, and as Tyrconnel had, before his departure for France, declared in favour of moderate meaſures, he was now ſuſpected of treachery, and many of the officers reviled and inſulted him, particularly as they flattered themſelves

themſelves daily with hopes of aſſiſtance from France. To favour theſe expectations, ſome French officers gradually arrived and repeated the aſſurances of ſpeedy ſuccour. At length St. Ruth a French general of powerful abilities landed at Limerick with a commiſſion of commander in chief.

A. D. 1691. SARSFIELD was juſtly incenſed, nor did the title of the Earl of Lucan, which he received from James, reconcile him to the indignity of being thus ſuperſeded. St. Ruth plainly perceiving the diſcontents of the catholics, reſolved on a defenſive war, and with the main body of his army took his ſtation behind Athlone, and ſtrongly garriſoned that part of it which lay between him and the Shannon, then called the Iriſh Town. Ginkle, being now furniſhed with reinforcements and other neceſſaries from England, determined to open the campaign by the ſiege of Athlone.

HIS firſt operation was the reduction of Fort Ballymore in Weſtmeath. This object being effected the Engliſh general advanced

ced with a party of horſe within a few miles of Athlone, where from an eminence he ſurveyed the town and the ſituation of the catholic army, which was encamped on a neck of land between two bogs, at the diſtance of two miles from the Shannon. Athlone conſiſted of two towns, ſituated on both banks of the Shannon, one called the Engliſh and the other the Iriſh Town, which were united by a ſtone bridge, and a ford a little below it; but the ford was now difficult to paſs, beſides being commanded by an adjacent caſtle. Next day Ginkle marched through lines of catholic infantry who gradually retired before him to the Engliſh diſtrict of Athlone.

The walls of Athlone had been repaired, and the catholics reſolved on a vigorous defence. But a battery of ten guns ſoon made a conſiderable breach, and orders were given for the aſſault.

The catholics defended the breach with great bravery for a length of time, but at laſt by ſuperior numbers being driven to the bridge

bridge, many of them were either cruſhed to death or drowned in the Shannon, as the bridge had been broke down by order of Saint Ruth, by that part of his troops which occupied the Iriſh Town. This he did, in order to cut off the communication between the towns, although by this mode of ſecurity he deſtroyed many of his army. However the Engliſh general found new difficulties to encounter; the arch of the bridge neareſt to the Iriſh town having been broken. Saint Ruth was ſtrongly poſted on the oppoſite ſide, who from his works fired furiouſly on the Engliſh town.

The fordbetween the two towns was narrow and ſtrong; wherupon Ginkle entrenched himſelf in the Engliſh town, and endeavoured to throw a bridge of pontoons over the river below the ford, and to conſtruct a wooden work on the bridge, in order to throw great planks over the broken arch.

The former attempt failed, on account of the banks not being firm; and when the latter was juſt brought to bear, a grenade thrown

thrown by the enemy ſet fire to the wood work and in a moment deſtroyed all the labours of the Engliſh. This accident cauſed great uneaſineſs in Ginkle's army, as their ſtores were much reduced, and through hurry having totally neglected to ſecure a retreat, there remained ſmall proſpect of any ſafety but in victory. Ginkle failing in his grand attempt to render the bridge paſſable, at length reſolved in a council of war to force a paſſage at the ford. The attempt was highly dangerous, as the ford was ſtrong, breaſt high, and paſſable only to twenty men in a breaſt. The deſign might really be ranked among thoſe raſh actions which ought rather to be deemed objects of aſtoniſhment than of imitation.

That the enemy might not be alarmed by an extraordinary commotion in the camp, Ginkle determined to make the attempt at the uſual hour of relieving the guards. Two thouſand men were appointed for this enterprize, and the ſignal given, by tolling the church-bell. Their advanced guard boldly entered the river. To favour this attempt, the Engliſh fired furiouſly upon the enemy

from their works and batteries, and they returned the diſcharge with equal violence on thoſe who were paſſing the ford.

The detachment, however, advanced on intrepidly through fire and ſmoak, and gaining the oppoſite banks, mounted the breach that had been made next the river.

The catholics, ſurprized and aſtoniſhed at this effort of valour, fled to their camp. On this occaſion Saint Ruth betrayed a careleſſneſs and preſumption unworthy of a general. On receiving the firſt intelligence of Ginkle's plan to paſs the ford, Saint Ruth in the confidence of ſecurity ſent three of his worſt regiments to relieve the over fatigued garriſon; and when he was told the Engliſh were actually paſſing the ford, he exclaimed that they would not preſume to attempt the town while he and his army lay ſo contiguous to it. Sarsfield replied calmly, that he knew the enterprize was not too difficult for Engliſh courage, and preſſed him to ſend an immediate reinforcement. Saint Ruth was offended: Sarsfield retorted his diſdain, when in the midſt of the diſpute, they were informed

ed that the enemy had got poſſeſſion of the town. Saint Ruth diſſembling his vexation proudly commanded that they ſhould be driven out again, and ſome fruitleſs efforts were made for that purpoſe; but by this time the Engliſh poſſeſſed the works oppoſite St. Ruth's camp and pointed his own cannon againſt him.

The caſtle of Athlone followed the fate of the town. The governor and five hundred men were made priſoners; and twelve hundred more were either taken or ſlain by the Engliſh during the courſe of the ſiege. Notwithſtanding theſe diſaſters the ſpirit of the catholics remained hitherto invincible. Some flattered themſelves with the hopes of ſuccour from France, and were therefore implicitly obedient to St. Ruth, while thoſe who knew the power of the Engliſh government ſaw no proſpect of ſafety but in a deſperate effort of valour. There were others who had eſpouſed James's cauſe from principle, and had taken up arms in defence of their religion and for the recovery of their property; they were on theſe conſiderations eager to conti-

nue the war, as the only means that could afford a poſſibility of accompliſhing their ends.

THE entire catholic force was reſolved from various motives to bring the conteſt to a final iſſue in the field. Ginkle had received authority from William, long ſince, to publiſh a free pardon to all ſuch of the catholics as choſe to take the benefit of it, but the Dutchman had delayed the publication of it to a period rather too late. St. Ruth, apprehenſive that many of his troops would avail themſelves of Ginkle's proclamation, changed his plan of a defenſive war and reſolved to reſt the fate of Ireland upon the iſſue of a battle, while he had yet the means left him of aſſembling an army wherewith to make one general effort.

A. D. 1691 THE Engliſh general diſcovering his intention, ſtrengthened his army, by drawing in every detachment that could be ſpared from all his poſts. The fate of Ireland was now ready to be decided, and the minds of all men were agitated with the expectation of the event.

ON

A. D. 1691. On the tenth of June, Ginkle marched from Athlone, and encamped along the river Suir in the county of Roſcommon. While St. Ruth took his ſtation to much greater advantage, about three miles farther to the ſouth weſt, his camp extended in a line of two miles along the heights of Killcommeden, with a rivulet on his left, running between hills and moraſſes, and theſe again ſkirted by a large bog.

About half a mile to the front lay a wide bog, with two paſſages, one led to the right, the other to the left of St. Ruth's camp.

The paſſage on the left opened into a cornfield, in which, however only four battalions could form a front. Farther on were difficult grounds and the ruins of the caſtle of Aughrim, where cannon were placed. The paſſage to the right opened upon ground that was wider but yet afforded not room for an army.

The ſpace between theſe too paſſages was filled with hedges and ditches, communicating with each other and lined with muſketeers,

teers. On the 12th of July at noon, the Engliſh army advanced in as good order as the nature of the ground would admit; they marched in two diviſions to the right and left of the bog, with the deſign of flanking the enemy and joining on the riſing ground; the left wing of the Engliſh marched boldly againſt the enemy, who obſtinately maintained their poſts; defending their ditches until the muſkets of each ſide cloſed with the other; when, retiring by their lines of communication, they flanked their aſſailants and charged them with double fury. St. Ruth found it neceſſary to draw a conſiderable part of his cavalry from his left to ſupport his right wing. On this Mackay adviſed Ginkle, while the cavalry were in motion to gain the paſs by Aughrim caſtle, which ſtood on the ſide of the bog, accordingly ſeveral regiments in the centre were ordered to march through the bog in front, and to poſt themſelves in the corn field, until the Engliſh horſe had gained the paſs, and would wheel from the right to ſupport their charge.

The Engliſh infantry having with great difficulty paſſed the bog, forgot the injunctions they received to remain inactive until the horſe had ſecured the paſs; and imprudently advanced to the line of hedges, from which the enemy artfully retired in order to draw the Engliſh on. The ſtratagem ſucceeded; for the Engliſh eagerly purſued, till by means of the communication the catholics had made between the hedges, they found themſelves ſurrounded, and fired upon at once, in front, flank and rear, whilſt Ginkle who had not yet overcome the difficulties of the rugged and uneven ground, could not afford them any aſſiſtance. This falſe ſtep nearly occaſioned the entire defeat of that wing; for the men thus embarraſſed gave way on all ſides, ſome to the corn field, while others even fled back through the bog. When the Engliſh generals beheld this ſcene, they bent their whole force to that quarter, where their friends were diſtreſſed, while St. Ruth viewing from an eminence their embarraſſment, threw his hat up three times in the air, and ſhouted for joy; giving thoſe about him the aſſurances of what he conſidered a certain victory.

His

His attention, however was ſoon directed to the Engliſh cavalry on his left, who ſeeing the alarming diſorder of the centre puſhed on with incredible ardour cloſe by the walls of the caſtle through all the fire of their apponents, to the amazement of whom they forced their way through a narrow and dangerous defile. St. Ruth now finding the ſcene about to change, and obſerving the two diviſions of the enemy to the right and left gathering upon the riſing ground, reſolved with all ſpeed to prevent the junction. He rode down with a body of horſe from the hill, determined to fall upon the enemy's cavalry in a dangerous hollow way, through which they were obliged to paſs. But while he was conducting this enterprize a cannon ball deprived him of life. This ſo diſheartened his men, that they firſt halted and afterwards fled; nor could Sarsfield, who was ſecond in command, be of any ſervice in this criſis, ſince on account of the enmity that ſubſiſted between him and St. Ruth, he was totally ignorant of that general's plans and diſpoſitions.

The whole catholic army was now divided into three bodies, neither of which knew what plan they were to act upon, while the two diviſions of Ginkle's army, conducted by their generals, kept their uniform diſpoſition, of verging towards each other; which alone could procure them victory, they found themſelves every moment nearer attaining their end; while the body of Engliſh appointed to paſs the hollow way having compaſſed their deſign, began to attack the enemy in flank, who were totally unable to prevent them; which perceiving, after a ſtruggle that was vain, they fled with precipitation and abandoned the field to the Engliſh, who gained a complete victory. The glory of this conqueſt they however ſullied by their barbarity and cruelty in not granting quarters to the vanquiſhed, who loſt in the action and purſuit about ſeven thouſand men, together with their tents baggage and military ſtores. The loſs of the Engliſh amounted to no more than ſeven hundred ſlain in battle.

The Engliſh very probably owed this victory to the death of St. Ruth, who though he

was ill beloved by the catholics, and had loſt them Athlone, was yet an able general. And it muſt be allowed, that the catholics made a moſt gallant reſiſtance as long as there exiſted any probability of ſucceſs, and therefore ought to have been treated as a brave and valiant enemy.

Limerick being the only place of any conſiderable ſtrength remaining in the hands of the Iriſh, thither the fugitives retired, and Ginkle immediately prepared to follow them, taking all places in his way and Galway among the reſt. Ginkle made his approaches to Limerick in the ſame manner William had done before, and met with little oppoſition, as the catholics were reſolved to truſt to the ſtrength of their fortifications, and the aid from France which they now expected rather than by any hazards to diſpirit the ſhattered remains of their armies. Ginkle continued for the ſpace of ten days battering the town, which ſtill held out, in hopes of either obtaining ſuccour from France, or of harraſſing the be egers ſo as to oblige them to deſert their attempt in the ſame manner William

William had done the year before. But after every effort had been made in defence of the town, the garriſon on the 23d of September beat a parley. The Engliſh granted a truce for three days; and on the laſt day of the truce, the catholic leaders propoſed the terms of capitulation, which Ginkle refuſed to grant.

By a ſecond deputation, he was deſired to propoſe ſuch terms as he would grant. He conſented that the catholics ſhould enjoy the exerciſe of their religion, as in the reign of Charles II. He engaged that all included in the capitulation ſhould enjoy their eſtates, and purſue their employments freely as in Charles's reign, that their gentry ſhould be allowed the uſe of arms, and that no oath ſhould be required of any except that of allegiance.

The garriſon accepted theſe conceſſions as the baſis of a treaty; and on the 3d of October, was adjuſted and ſigned the civil articles by the chief governors Porter and Coningſby who arrived in the camp for that purpoſe; and the military ones by general Ginkle.

A few days after the capitulation was ſigned, a French fleet of eighteen ſail with ammunition and proviſions, arrived on the coaſt, a ſight which a few days before would have been moſt welcome to the catholics, but now only ſerved to overwhelm them with ſorrow.

CHAP

CHAP. IIII.

William's Situation,—Maſſacre of Glenco.—Iriſh Proteſtants diſſatisfied with the Terms granted the Catholics at Limerick.—Moſt of the Catholic Soldiers embarked for France.—An account of the Conſpiracy formed againſt William.—Death of James and William.

A. D. 1691. DURING theſe tranſactions in Ireland, William was no leſs employed in foreign than in domeſtic wars. Lewis XIV. penetrated into Piedmont, before the Germans could prevent his deſigns; but when they arrived the French retired. On the Rhine, the German and the French armies were nearly equal to each other; for which reaſon they avoided coming to action; whilſt in Flanders, William forced Mareſchall Boufflers to abandon the bombardment of Liege; but in return when he quitted his army, the French defeated part of it near to Combron.

THE Engliſh and French fleets watched each other, and moſt people were uneaſy at the enormous expences the nation had been at,

at, without having obtained any conſiderable ſucceſs to counter-balance the vaſt ſums that had been ſo liberally granted. Yet William, imagining, that when Ireland was reduced, he might aſk almoſt any thing ſecurely of his parliament, at the end of the campaign, fitted out a large fleet; muſtered ſixty five thouſand land forces for the ſervices of the enſuing year, for the ſupport of which, after ſome delays, no leſs a ſum than three millions and an half was granted.

THERE were attempts made however to procure many popular laws, to one of which the king refuſed his aſſent, namely that of eſtabliſhing Judges in their offices for life; which plainly ſhews, that William notwithſtanding his acceſſion to the throne, reſulted *immediately* from the will of the people, was too tenacious of his new prerogative to relinquiſh a particle of it, though his preſent Majeſty George III. cheerfully made conceſſions on ſimilar principles to both the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. William came to the throne ſolely by the miſconduct, folly and arbitrary ſway of the tyrannic James; profeſſed himſelf the ſcourge of tyranny and

and oppreſſion; but impartiality obliges us to ſay that William himſelf reſorted to deſpotic and barbarous acts, by eſtabliſhing his power over part of his dominions in the blood of his unreſiſting ſubjects, I allude to the *maſſacre of Glenco* in Scotland. The cauſe and effect of which, juſtice demands ſhould be ingenuouſly related, as ſuch events, as tend to pourtray the characters and conduct of thoſe two princes who contended for dominion in Ireland, ought not to be concealed from poſterity. Upon the diſcovery of the conſpiracy againſt William in England, in the year 1690, Lord Tarbet, having ſuggeſted a ſcheme for prevailing on the Highlanders to lay down their arms, which they had taken up under Lord Dundee, and which they had never ſince entirely quitted; and Lord Breadalbane offered to carry it into effect. Breadalbane's offers had been the more readily accepted by government, becauſe He was known to have more influence and credit with the Highlanders, than any man in Scotland, at the time there were rumours of a French invaſion into that country in favour of the dethroned Monarch. But government neglected to carry this project into effect, on account of ſome advantages recent-

ly gained over the Highlanders, and who, after having heard the invaſion was to reach no farther than England, had kept themſelves quiet within their own country in the ſummer; but winter had no ſooner ſet in, than they renewed their hoſtilities.

Upon this Breadalbane revived his propoſal, and ſent his ſcheme for ſettling the Highlands, to Sir John Dalrymple ſecretary of ſtate, who was then attending William in Flanders. The ſcheme was this, that a pardon and twelve thouſand pounds, ſhould be given to the Highlanders, moſt of the money to be applied to exonerate their eſtates from the Duke of Argyle's claim, and that a penſion ſhould be granted to all the Highland chiefs in Scotland, on condition of their keeping four thouſand of their people diſciplined for war; and ready to ſerve at home and abroad.

The ſecretary readily adopted it, and laid it before the King, who ſent for Breadalbane to come to him in Flanders to adjuſt the terms. On Breadalbane's return to Scotland he brought the treaty with the Highlanders nearly

nearly to a concluſion. A proclamation iſſued in the autumn of 1691, which declared that all rebels who took the oaths to the government, before the firſt of January enſuing, ſhould be pardoned.

THE Duke of Hamilton in the mean time, either from envy againſt Breadalbane and Sir John Dalrymple, or becauſe he believed he could make better terms for William, ſent emiſſaries to the Highlands to prevent the concluſion of the treaty.

THE Highland chiefs acted with much duplicity, they wrote to James for his permiſſion to make a treaty, promiſing that they would obſerve it no longer than it was for his intereſt, and at the ſame time to create jealouſies in William of his ſervants, and among his ſervants, themſelves, they informed Duke Hamilton and Breadalbane's enemies, Lord Slaine and his Son, that Breadalbane had concurred with them in the terms on which they had aſked James's conſent to the treaty. Upon this, accuſations were preſented to the privy council and parliament, and ſent to the King

againſt Breadalbane; and general Mackay inflated with the honour he had acquired in his own profeſſion in Ireland, wrote privately to the King againſt Lord Breadalbane and Sir John Dalrymple, moſt of which were communicated to the latter of theſe perſons.

William, who was ſteady to the perſons he confided in, received the accuſations with diſregard. But Breadalbane retained deep reſentment in his breaſt againſt the Highlanders for their breach of faith, as well as for the injuries they deſigned to do him. Wherefore a new ſcheme was ſuggeſted by Breadalbane, which was adopted by Dalrymple the ſecretary, *and aſſented to by William*, for cutting off all the Highlanders, who ſhould not take the oaths to the new government, by the time preſcribed in the proclamation. The mode of execution was intended to be by what were called in Scotland letters of fire and ſword, moſt inhuman, but legal inſtruments of deſtruction in that country againſt attainted rebels. The order was ſent to the privy council, who immediately appointed a committee to carry it into execution;

execution; and ordered money, a ſhip, and other military preparations for that purpoſe.

Breadalbane, Tarber and Argyle, had agreed privately to lend their aſſiſtance, if neceſſary. William's troops were properly poſted. The Marquis of Athol, who, had for ſome time, by means of general Mackay, been paying his court to the new government, likewiſe had an hundred men prepared for the ſame abominable purpoſe. But it is probable that ſome of the privy council warned the Highlanders of their danger, for all the attainted chiefs took the oaths previous to the time prefixed, except Mac Donald of Glenco. Glenco went on the laſt of December to fort William, and deſired the oaths to be tendered to him by the governor, but as that officer was not a civil magiſtrate, he refuſed to adminiſter the oaths. Glenco then went to the country town to take them before the ſheriff of the county, but was prevented by bad weather from reaching the town, until a few days after the term preſcribed by the proclamation was elapſed.

The

The ſheriff ſcrupled at firſt, but at length was prevailed upon to take his oath of allegiance. Advantage however was taken of Glenco's not having literally complied with the terms of the proclamation, and a warrant for his execution was procured from William, which was ſigned both above and below with the king's own hand. This warrant was put in force, with many circumſtances of extreme rigour. Sir John Dalrymple gave orders that the execution ſhould be effectual, and without any previous warning. For this purpoſe, in the month of February, two companies of Highland ſoldiers, choſen for the occaſion, went, not as enemies, but as friends, into the valley of Glenco where all the clan lived. To conceal the intention the better, the ſoldiers were of their own lineage, and the commanding officer captain Campbell was uncle to the wife of one of Glenco's ſons. All were received with the rude but kind hoſpitality of the country.

They continued in the valley near a fortnight, and then in the night time roſe to butcher their hoſts. Captain Campbell ſupped

ped and played cards with Glenco's family, the evening before. Thirty eight men were ſlain. The reſt would have ſhared the ſame fate, had not the alarm been given by one of Glenco's ſons, who overheard one of the ſoldiers ſay to another, "he liked not the work; he feared not to fight the Mac Donalds in the field, but had ſcarcely courage to kill them in their ſleep, but their officers were anſwerable for the deed, not they."—Two hundred victims had been devoted by the government, but of theſe an hundred and ſixty eſcaped, carrying with them an irreconcileable hatred to the new government. William, under whoſe ſanction this treachery had been perpetrated, finding his name every where execrated for the barbarity, and hearing alſo, that the affair had been publiſhed and made a great noiſe at Paris, and obſerving the horror it excited among his own ſubjects, affected to ſet on foot an enquiry concerning the authors of the maſſacre, the previous knowledge of which he now thought proper to diſavow, by ſaying he had ſigned the order amongſt an heap of other papers, without being acquainted with its contents. A weak

excuſe,

excuſe, the futility of which ſufficiently appeared by his actions; for though he diſmiſſed the maſter of Stair from his employment of ſecretary; and affected to make ſome buſtle in the affair, yet he never brought the perpetrators of this barbarity to condign puniſhment, as unqueſtionably he would have done for the ſake of his own honour and character, if he himſelf had not been too deeply implicated in the buſineſs, by having ſeriouſly aſſented to this infamous ſcheme of aſſaſſination.

The Iriſh proteſtants in general were much diſſatisfied with the terms granted by Ginkle to the catholics. They complained that they who had ſuffered for their loyalty to William were diſregarded, while their enemies were not only pardoned, but even indulged, ſince they were allowed the honours of war, and permitted to tranſport themſelves into foreign countries. But the event proved that Ginkle was right in granting ſuch favourable terms, as the arrival of the French fleet would have been the means of raiſing the ſiege of Limerick, and have added freſh vigour and ſpirit to the Iriſh catholics. After the capitulation

of

Limerick fourteen thouſand catholics conveyed themſelves beyond the ſeas, preferring to abandon their native country for ever, and to become the ſubjects of a foreign power, rather than relinquiſh the full exerciſe of their religion, and the intereſt of their exiled and unfortunate ſovereign.

Such of the catholic troops as remained at Limerick on the ratification of the articles of capitulation, embarked under convoy of the French fleet for France; Lewis XIV. had given orders for their being new cloathed, and put into comfortable quarters. Thus James endeavoured to ſooth himſelf, and them, for their diſappointments and ill ſucceſs in Ireland.

On the other hand, William conferred marks of honour and eſteem on his friends, but even in this he could not diveſt himſelf of manifeſt tokens of partiality to foreigners, which were extremely diſguſting to the Engliſh nation. However William found the Engliſh in general well pleaſed with the reduction of Ireland, but his want of attention

tion to the minute ſources of diſcontent frequently involved him and his ſubjects in troubles, and was in reality one of the chief cauſes of the diſquietude that diſturbed his reign.

It was on this account, together with a certain ſullenneſs and reſerve peculiar to his temper and country, that many of thoſe who crouded to the ſtandard of the Prince of Orange, now deſerted or deſpiſed king William. They ſaid that he did not love England, and that he had diſmiſſed from his council, many of thoſe who had been principally inſtrumental in raiſing him to the throne. They alſo ſaid that he had overturned the hierarchy in Scotland, which his predeceſſors had for years defended, that the remedy they had hoped for thro' him turned out to be worſe than the diſeaſe, and in their convivial hours they ridiculed his perſon and manners, and threw out ſuch pointed jeſts againſt him and his country, that inſtead of being ſurprized at the riſks he ran of loſing ground, one would more naturally be ſurprized that a king ſhould be able to retain his crown

after

after he had become the contempt and ridicule of the very people who had invited him to the throne.

While James was yet living, and the parliament he convened at Dublin, had paſſed acts of forfeiture and attainder againſt thoſe that oppoſed him, it is hard for either politicians or caſuiſts to account for the injuſtice of calling thoſe rebels who only fought for a conteſted claim. But the greateſt proof that on this occaſion the catholics were not rebels, is the manner in which William behaved to them, who, while they were in arms againſt him, conducted the war in the ſame manner in which he would have done againſt a foreign foe, and when they laid thoſe arms down, he treated with them on principles of independence and equality.

The catholics were in a delicate ſituation, they were expoſed to forfeiture and death by their own parliament if they aſſiſted William, and by the Engliſh parliament they were ſubject to the like, if they aided James. Wherefore it was natural in ſuch a ſituation, that they ſhould

ſhould attach themſelves to the cauſe of James, who was not only their lawful ſovereign, but a catholic prince, therefore no candid or judicious perſon will either ſtigmatize the catholics of thoſe days with the names of traitors or rebels, as their loyalty to James lead to all their misfortunes.

However, the proceedings in Ireland, at this critical period, tend to prove demonſtratively, that of all animoſity and hatred, the religious is the moſt laſting and violent, and productive of the moſt direful and pernicious conſequences to the parties themſelves, and the welfare of their country. That the conteſted claims of princes induce the moſt terrible evils that can befal any nation, is a maxim which can never be too forcibly inculcated, though it ſeems to be often neglected or miſconceived, and notwithanding England, Ireland and Scotland, have ſo often ſuffered, and been duped by ambitious and deſigning men, and ſuch there always are, who take advantage of, and pretend to be actuated by religious or party zeal. However William, under all theſe diſadvantages kept the diadem he had obtained, and artfully deviſed means to eſtabliſh what force

force could not effect. The cityof Limerick having been ſurrendered, and the wars of Ireland by that means concluded, he at length became maſter of three kingdoms; a remarkable æra in the annals of our country.

Before we proceed farther with the affairs of Ireland, it becomes neceſſary to advert to the plot that was formed in England to deprive William of his three kingdoms at once and to reſtore the exiled prince to the poſſeſſion of them.

The king of France, ſenſible of the great advantage he ſhould derive from dethroning William, determined now in earneſt to keep the promiſe he had made to James, of endeavouring to land him in England at the head of a large body of forces, that he might avail himſelf of the diſcontents which then exiſted there. James wrote to ſome of the members of the privy council, and others making liberal offers, and many perſons of diſtinction were prevailed on to adopt a plan propoſed for reſtoring him.

The officers were much diſpleaſed at the promotion of foreigners among them. The ſeamen in general retained an affection for their exiled king, who had been often among them, and always proud of diſtinguiſhing himſelf as their friend. The Iriſh proteſtants were diſſatisfied with the treaty of Limerick, while the Highlanders were incenſed beyond meaſure at the part they well knew William had in the murder of Glenco; and the people of all the three kingdoms complained loudly of enormous taxes and the extravagant expenditure of the public money.

Amidst theſe grievances, which no doubt were much exaggerated by prejudices and perſonal animoſity, James and Lewis found it no difficult matter to tamper with ſome of the leading perſonages in William's court. In the year 1690 James ſent Colonel Bulkely and Sackville over into England, with proper inſtructions to diſcover how far thoſe who had formerly ſerved him now ſtood affected to his cauſe.

James endeavoured firſt to work upon Lord Godolphin but that nobleman was very much upon

upon the reſerve; He next applied to Halliſax; that Lord deſired him to let Godolphin know his ſentiments. upon this it is ſaid Godolphin profeſſed his repentance of his connexions with the new King, and wrote to James accordingly telling his majeſty, he would reſign his employment of firſt Lord of the treaſury. James in anſwer deſired him not to do any thing ſo prejudicial to his own intereſt. Sackville, on his part, endeavoured to win over Marlborough, whoſe wife's ſiſter was married to Lord Tyrconnel.

This nobleman ſeems, by a ſtrange duplicity, to have promiſed ſervices he never meant to perform, and made profeſſions he never ſeriouſly thought on. He was the firſt perſon who gave James's friends in Ireland notice of William's deſign of going over there, yet by an expedition againſt Cork and Kinſale, which was voluntarily undertaken by him, he acted as a deſperate enemy to his former maſter's intereſt; while he ever expreſſed ſentiments of tenderneſs for that unhappy monarch, and always kept terms with his party. Marlborough now entered into engagements

ments with Sackville, and even wrote to James entreating his and the queen's forgiveneſs for his offences; and James was likewiſe aſſured that the Princeſs Anne would be brought back to her duty by Lady Marlborough who had acquired a conſiderable influence over her. James granted all he aſked, but ſtill Marlborough required more. He deſired that a power in James's name might be granted him of giving free pardon to all thoſe who had oppoſed James's intereſt in the late conteſt.

James alſo complied with this requeſt; on this occaſion many played a double part, or ſtood neuter in expectation of the event. In great Britain and Ireland at this time there appeared to be three diſtinct parties; the firſt was attached to King William, the ſecond to King James, while the third, who were by many accounted the moſt rational of all, had not in fact ſo ſtrong an attachment to either of theſe three princes as they had, to what they conceived ought to be the conſtitution of their country. Many of theſe now correſponded with James, not ſo much

out

out of regard for him, or approbation of his government, as from the expectation of bringing an exiled monarch to make conceſſions, which William whatever he had profeſſed now ſeemed averſe from yielding to, and to deliver the kingdom from the preſent enormous burthen of taxes and the ruinous proſpect of a civil war in future.

Admirals Ruſſel and Carter offered their ſervices to James. Though both theſe officers were rigid ſupporters of the liberty of the ſubject, and for which they ſtrenuouſly ſtood, yet the dethroned monarch aſſured them he would conform to their principles. Princeſs Ann having been ill treated by her ſiſter, was prevailed on to join this faction, whom it was expected the majority of the church would follow, as they had been highly incenſed at the eſtabliſhment of preſbytery in Scotland, and the treatment of the non-juring prelates whom William in his anger had deprived of their ſees, and given them to favourites of his own.

The agent who forwarded theſe negociations, was Captain Lloyd, a rough, brave, ſeaman, ſtrongly attached to James, who ardently wiſhed to promote his reſtoration.

In conſequence of the communications of this agent, the invaſion of England was determined to be effected by a mighty power from France, in the ſucceeding ſpring, for which purpoſe, the French began to equip two fleets, one at Breſt, and the other at Toulon, both of which when compleated and united were to be put under the command of Monſieur De Tourville. Twenty thouſand land forces, one half of which were Iriſh were ordered down to the coaſt of Normandy, and all manner of ſuitable preparations were made for the propoſed expedition.

James's friends, both in England and Scotland, were by no means idle; Lancaſhire was provided with eight regiments of horſe and foot; two regiments of horſe were ready in London, and many other parts of the nation were equally inclined for inſurrection, although perhaps not equally furniſhed with the

the means of it. The Highlanders were too mindful of the maſſacre of Glenco, not to be ready to ſeize the firſt opportunity of revenging the injuries done to their country; and in many other parts of that kingdom, James had many ſtaunch friends who were ready to riſk their lives and fortunes for his re-eſtabliſhment.

Ireland, which William had left an heap of ruins was ſcarce conſidered defenſible by the lords juſtices. However as this country was not intended for the ſcene of action, there ſeemed to be little danger of the catholics avowing their former ſentiments or connexions; for, although their affections were not entirely detached from their old maſter, yet, however inclined they might be, they were by no means in a condition at preſent to diſturb the new government.

At this time, James addreſſed a letter to the lords of council in England, inviting them and many ladies of diſtinction to St. Germains, where the queen being pregnant, he wiſhed they might attend in order to re-

fute the ſcandal of her barrenneſs he; alſo now circulated a declaration formed to induce his former ſubjects to declare in his favour. He then informed them that with the aſſiſtance of his ally the king of France, he would make another effort for the recovery of his crown, yet, notwithſtanding ſuch aſſiſtance, he did not mean to preclude his good ſubjects from contributing to his reſtoration, and that of their ancient conſtitution. He gave them the ſtrongeſt aſſurance that the French troops in his ſervice ſhould be kept under the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and ſhould be ſent home, the moment the end for which they came would be accompliſhed. He ſaid, that on the firſt arrival of the Prince of Orange in this kingdom, he had choſen rather to rely on the aſſiſtance and ſupport of his own countrymen, than on that of the foreign auxiliaries that were ſo liberally offered him; that when he was ina condition to oppoſe force with force, he had offered his ſubjects all reaſonable ſatisfaction. He obſerved, that when afterwards he ſaw himſelf abandoned and betrayed by his own ſubjects; his army, his miniſters, and even his own

own family; and when he had been forced out of his own palace and compelled to take refuge in France, they had conſtrued this his retreat for ſecurity into a neighbouring kingdom, as an abdication of his throne; and a convention illegally aſſembled, that had no right to alter the property, even of the pooreſt ſubject, had, on that pretence, contrived to annihilate the foundations of the conſtitution. He added, that it was reaſonably to be preſumed, that the eyes of the nation were e'er this ſufficiently opened to the enormous expences they had recently incurred, a conſideration of itſelf ſufficient to evince, that the remedy was worſe than the diſeaſe; he wiſhed them alſo to conſider, that even though the uſurpation ſhould continue for his natural life, yet his title would ſurvive in his children, and expoſe the nation to the calamity and horrors of civil war.

On all theſe grounds he exhorted and entreated his good ſubjects to repair to his ſtandard, purſuant as he ſaid to the tenor of their oaths and bounden duty; and under ſemblance of commanding them not to pay any taxes for

for the ſupport of the uſurper, he promiſed a free pardon to all ſoldiers, as well as others, who would deſert William's ſervice, engaging that they ſhould be paid their arrears, and that the foreign troops on laying down their arms ſhould be alſo paid, and ſafely conducted into their reſpective countries. He proteſted, that he would maintain the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed, in all its rights, though he expreſſed his intention of uſing his influence with parliament, for allowing liberty of conſcience to all his ſubjects. James, ſenſible that the Engliſh were jealous of their priveleges of trade, took care to obſerve; that he intended to reſtore their commerce, by enforcing a due obſervance of the Navigation Act, which had of late been moſt ſhamefully violated, that he would uſe his beſt exertions to put the navy on the moſt reſpectable footing, and that he would do every thing elſe to contribute to the happineſs and grandeur of the Engliſh nation. After all theſe offers, in concluſion, on his part he declared himſelf perfectly reſigned to the will of Heaven, at the ſame time reminding his ſubjects, that

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ſuch of them as ſhould refuſe his offers and appear, in arms againſt him, after having ſo fully communicated his intentions; would certainly be anſwerable in the ſight of Heaven for all the blood that in future would be ſhed on the occaſion. From many circumſtances, it is evident, that James promiſed himſelf much from this declaration, and had he landed in England at the time he made it, it is probable he would not have been deceived; for how much ſoever the parliament and people were diſpoſed to ſlight his remonſtrances, when firſt he quitted his kingdom; it is evident from their demeanour afterwards, that the people had in a great meaſure changed their minds: ſome becauſe they were diſappointed in their expectations of William's government, but a much greater number on account of his partial diſtribution of places and honours. But what was moſt ſingular in this circumſtance was, that William in general was abandoned by the Whigs, he thereupon threw himſelf into the arms of the Tories, and perhaps he did not think himſelf very ſecure with either party. However

ever by the vigilance, of the miniſty the efforts of James's declaration proved in a great meaſure abortive.

PREPARATIONS were making in England for the reception of the invaders. Orders were iſſued for all the ſeamen in the kingdom to offer themſelves for the royal ſervice, on pain of incurring puniſhment, if they refuſed; and the different ſhips of war then abroad were immediately ordered home.

A certain number of ſhips were deſtined to obſerve the enemy's motions, and to watch them in their ports and harbours. The old ſhips were repaired and new ſhips built, both in England and Holland, and the command of the entire fleet was veſted in Admiral Ruſſel, notwithſtanding the ſuſpicions that had ariſen of his correſpondence with James, and the repeated intimations that had been given William of the great danger of committing ſuch a power into his hands. The militia was raiſed all over England, and papiſts were commanded to remove ten miles from the capital, Scotland was put into a good ſtate of defence

defence, and every effort was uſed that could poſſibly tend to the ſecurity of Great Britain; Ireland alone was neglected, moſt probably for the reaſon aſſigned by Dalrymple, namely becauſe it was deemed impoſſible to ſecure it.

During theſe tranſactions, the Engliſh court was making to itſelf enemies at the deareſt rate imaginable. Not to mention the impriſonment of Marlborough, the grounds of which we have already related, and that of other noblemen, the Princeſs Anne, preſumptive heir to the throne, who had waved her right of ſucceſſion in favour of her brother-in-law, had her guards taken from her, and was loaded with every diſgrace that her ſiſter durſt, and more than in common prudence ſhe ought to have caſt upon her. In ſhort the whole kingdom was in ſuch a ferment, that had James once landed in England at the head of his allies, there is little doubt but he would be reſtored to the crown, while William was abroad waſting the blood of his Engliſh ſubjects in thoſe wars, in which nothing but their connections with him could poſſibly

poſſibly have engaged them. However, a variety of accidents completely prevented James from ever making the attempt. The Engliſh much alarmed, had made preparations in proportion to the danger, and their fleet being joined by the Dutch, they found themſelves in a condition to meet the enemy.

On the, 19th of May, in the year 1692, theſe two great naval armaments met. Tourville was inferior to the combined fleets in the proportion of fifty to ninety nine, yet reſolving to ſtrain every nerve on the occaſion, he bore down with great boldneſs on the enemy. The two Admiral's ſhips meeting, a bloody engagement enſued, which laſted for an hour and an half, until at length Tourville's ſhip was ſo much damaged as obliged her to be towed off, whilſt ſeveral other French ſhips cloſed in to favour the retreat. It was now that the Engliſh force prevailed, it was now that the French admiral was ſenſible of his temerity, in coming to an Engagement he might have avoided, and which was contrary to the opinion of his moſt experienced officers.

NEVERTHELESS the action continued all the day, the French maintained a running fight during the afternoon; and at night the Engliſh, Dutch and French fleets anchored cloſe to each other off the coaſt of France. The next morning the French having ſuſtained a conſiderable damage, four ſhips were blown up, and many others having deſerted them, fled along their own coaſts, purſued by the Engliſh and Dutch. Tourville's ſhip and two others took refuge at Cherbourg, eighteen others followed their example near La-Hogue; and ſeveral more eſcaped through the race of Alderney.

A. D. 1692. ON the fifth day, Ruſſel prepared to deſtroy ſuch of the enemy's ſhips as had run a-ground, while the French on the other hand, whoſe army was drawn up on the ſhore, raiſed up platforms mounted with artillery, and uſed every poſſible means to defend them; excepting that they had not followed the judicious advice given by king James, who was preſent, which was, to put a number of regiments on board the veſſels that run on ſhore; an expedient

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that would have proved moſt likely to have preſerved them from the fury of the Engliſh, who excited by a ſpirit of revenge, equal to their former fears, prevailed ſo far as to reduce the moſt of them to aſhes.

The exiled king had the mortification to ſee them deſtroyed, and with them the beſt hopes of his reſtoration. After this, James retired to the monaſtery of La Trappe, and the Engliſh on their return to their country were received with all the applauſe and reward, which the government conceived to be ſo juſtly due to men, who had attained ſo important a victory.

Notwithstanding this defeat, many attempts were afterwards made to reinſtate this unfortunate family, both by their adherents at home, and their friends abroad, but all proved abortive, and the ſucceſſion was firmly eſtabliſhed in the proteſtant line upon revolution principles.

Some may here remark that it was extraordinary that the admirals Ruſſel and Carter, whom we have mentioned as holding a correſpondence

reſpondence with James ſhould ſo effectually contribute to the deſtruction of the fleet of his allies; this, combined with other circumſtances, has occaſioned ſome hiſtorians to conclude, that their correſpondence with James was known to William, and countenanced by him, in order to become poſſeſſed of his rival's ſecrets, however, we do not find that the proofs are ſufficient to ſanction ſuch a concluſion.

Russel probably joined the malecontents, whoſe example Carter followed, partly becauſe he was diſſatisfied with ſome of William's conduct, and partly becauſe he thought it likely that the nation might procure better terms by the reſtoration of an exiled prince, than they could expect by ſupporting one already on the throne. Moreover in the midſt of his correſpondence with James, he repeatedly cautioned that unfortunate monarch to prevent the Engliſh and the French fleet meeting in an hoſtile manner, declaring that if they did, he would conſider it his duty to fire upon the firſt French ſhip, even though he ſhould ſee James himſelf on the quarter-deck; at the ſame time, to evince

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the ſincerity of his promiſes, he propoſed that James ſhould delay the meditated invaſion, and effect it in his abſence, on which account, Ruſſel abſolutely aſked leave of the Engliſh government to make a deſcent upon the coaſt of France. But James concealed theſe intimations of Admiral Ruſſel from Mon. De Tourville.

Tourville was well informed that a correſpondence was carried on between James and Ruſſel, yet he was ignorant of thoſe ſentiments Ruſſel had communicated to James; wherefore he boldly bore down on the Engliſh fleet, imagining probably, that his inferiority in point of numbers, would be outbalanced by his chance of being favoured by the Britiſh admiral and many of his captains. But Ruſſel acting upon the principles already recited, fruſtrated all his deſigns, and with a fleet ſo much ſuperior obtained a complete and abſolute victory. Ruſſel received ſuch compliments and of ſo flattering a nature on this victory, that he became for ever attatched to William, who perhaps prudently overlooked his intended de-

fection,

ſection, when he conſidered how much he required his preſent friendſhip. Indeed it appears ſcarcely probable that William countenanced the correſpondence carried on with James, for although this mode was by no means unnatural to that artful and ſubtle monarch, yet the concern the court expreſſed, the many perſons of diſtinction that were ſeized, the numerous precautions taken, and even the unconſtitutional authority exerted at this juncture, may fully incline us to conclude, that William was not privy to ſuch correſpondence, though it is poſſible that when all was over, William affected a myſterious knowledge of many matters he was really ignorant of.

However theſe things were, it is certain the intended invaſion filled the kingdom with fears and apprehenſions, of which the court itſelf largely partook. But it ever was the mode of the Engliſh to riſe ſuperior to paſt misfortunes; ſo when this ſtorm was blown over, every man perſuaded himſelf that he was not frightened nor diſmayed. With the failure of this invaſion, expired the rational hope of the Iriſh catholics. They therefore

ſubmitted

ſubmitted to a government they hated, and gave William no further diſturbance during the remainder of his reign. When James's attempts for the recovery of the crown of his anceſtors had been defeated, he led a life of piety and peace, and at length on the 16th day of September, in the year 1700 expired at St. Germains.

A. D 1700 In his laſt illneſs, he conjured his ſon to prefer the conſideration of religion even to that of a throne. He declared he moſt ſincerely forgave the Prince of Orange and all his enemies. He died with evident marks of reſignation and was interred at his own requeſt, without any funeral ſolemnity, in the church of the Engliſh benedictines at Paris.

Thus died a prince who by his own temerity and blind zeal, loſt a crown, which he was born to inherit, and which, had he purſued the dictates of ſound policy, he might have worn unmoleſted to his death, and reſigned to his ſucceſſor in peace. Inſtead of which he bequeathed to his deſcendants the ſhattered

ſhattered ruins of unſupported royalty, and to his people, the dreadful conſequences of a diſputed title, which more than once involved them in inteſtine diſſentions, and the terrors of civil war.

A. D. 1701 In fine, though James was a bad prince, when we conſider him as reigning over a free nation, yet he ſeems to have poſſeſſed many of the qualities of a good man, when we view him only as an individual in the private walks of life. William did not long ſurvive him: his conſtitution being much exhauſted; by the advice of his phyſicians, he accuſtomed himſelf to frequent exerciſe on horſe-back; and on the 21ſt of February, as he was riding from Hampton Court, to Kenſington, his horſe fell under him, and his collar-bone having received a fracture by the violence of the fall, his attendants conveyed him to Hampton Court, where the fracture was reduced by his ſurgeon. In the evening, as he returned in his coach to Kenſington, the ends of the fractured bone having been diſunited by the jolting of the carriage were again replaced by his phyſician

phyſician. On the fourth of March, William was ſo far recoverd as to be able to walk in the gallery at Kenſington. But ſitting in a coach, he fell aſleep, and was afterwards ſeized with a fever. On the ſixth he was ſo weak, that he could not write, and was obliged to uſe a ſtamp to the bills brought for his aſſent, and two days afterwards expired in the fifty ſecond year of his age, having ſurvived his queen ſeven years, and being himſelf ſurvived by his favourite the Duke of Portland.

WILLIAM, was a prince of great coldneſs and reſerve, an utter ſtranger to the warmer paſſions and never animated but in the field. He was particularly devoted to the intereſt of Holland, and was the firſt king that ever abſolutely implicated Eugland in continental connexions. He deviſed the funding ſcheme, and conſequently became the patron of ſtock jobbers. He was generally thought to have ſacrificed all delicacy and honour, by mounting without ſcruple the throne of his father-in-law, and accepting a crown which England at firſt never deſigned to have conferred on him. On the whole, whatſoever were his

his good qualities, they were not ſufficient to render him eaſy as a king, nor his ſubjects collectively happy as a people. Party animoſities in his reign were carried to the moſt extravagant lengths in great Britain and Ireland, and both nations were more than once on the verge of annihilation. At his death he left his dominions involved in fears and doubts which the nature of the ſucceſſion, however apparently ſatisfactory to all parties, was by no means equal to remove.

The conſtitution of England, in this reign, had aſſumed indeed a new aſpect. The maxim of hereditary, indefeaſible right was at length laid aſide by a free parliament. The power of the crown was declared to be derived from no other fountain than that of a contract with the people.

Allegiance and protection, were declared reciprocal ties, and inſeparably linked to each other. The repreſentatives of the nation made a formal demand of a declaration of rights in behalf of their conſtituents; as William III. aſcended the throne in conſequence

of an expreſs capitulation with the people. Yet on this occaſion the zeal of parliament towards the Prince of Orange ſeems to have ſuperſeded their attachment to their own liberty and privileges; or at leaſt they neglected the faireſt opportunity that ever occured, to retrench thoſe prerogatives of the crown, to which all the late and former calamities of the nation were aſcribed. The new monarch retained the old regal power over parliament, in its full extent. He was left at liberty to convoke, adjourn, prorogue and diſſolve them at pleaſure. He poſſeſſed the right of chuſing his own council; of nominating all the great officers of ſtate, and of the houſehold of the army, the navy, and the church. He reſerved the abſolute command of the militia: ſo that he remained maſter of all the inſtruments and engines of corruption and violence; without any other reſtraint than his own moderation and prudent regard to the claim of rights, and principle of reſiſtance, on which the revolution was founded. In fine, the ſettlement was concluded with evident marks of precipitation, before the plan had been fully digeſted and matured; and this will be the caſe in every

every eſtabliſhment formed upon a ſudden emergency in the teeth of oppoſition. And although the revolution proceeded from a republican ſpirit, yet the ſettlement was built upon Tory principles; for the execution of William's government continued ſtill independent of his commiſſion, while his own perſon remaind ſacred and inviolable: thus he governed *jure divino* though he was created *jure humano.*

The convention parliament had recourſe to an expedient to give that legal ſanction to their proceedings which was ſuppoſed to be wanting, as the convention had not been convened by the king's writ of ſummons, they therefore determined that the Prince of Orange, by virtue of his own authority ſhould change the convention into a parliament, by going to the houſe of Peers, with the uſual ſtate of a ſovereign, and pronouncing a ſpeech from the throne to both houſes.

This expedient was accordingly put into practice: but it was an experiment attended with an inſurmountable abſurdity.

If the majority of the convention could not grant a legal ſanction to the eſtabliſhment they had made, they never could inveſt the Prince of Orange with a juſt right to aſcend the throne; for they could not give what they did not poſſeſs. And if he aſcended the throne without a juſt title, he could have no right to ſanctify that aſſembly, who under ſuch circumſtances raiſed him to ſuch elevation. When the people were obliged by tyranny, or other accidents, to have recourſe to the firſt principles of ſociety, namely, their own preſervation in electing a new ſovereign; it will deſerve conſideration, whether that choice was to be effected by the majority of a parliament which had been diſſolved; indeed by any parliament whatſoever, or by the body of the nation aſſembled in communities to ſignify their aſſent or diſſent to the perſon propoſed as their ſovereign.

This kind of election might be attended with great inconvenience and difficulty, but theſe cannot poſſibly be avoided, when the conſtitution is diſſolved, by ſetting aſide the lineal ſucceſſion to the crown. The conſti-

tution

tution is founded on a parliament compoſed of king, lords, and commons; but when there is no longer a king, the parliament is defective, and the conſtitution impaired. The commons are the repreſentatives of the people, expreſsly choſen to maintain the conſtitution in church and ſtate; and ſworn to ſupport the rights of the crown, as well as the liberties of the people: but though they are elected to *maintain*, they have no power to *alter* the conſtitution. When the king forfeits the allegiance of his ſubjects, and it becomes neceſſary to dethrone him; the power of ſo doing cannot poſſibly reſide in the repreſentatives who are choſen under certain limitations, for the purpoſes of a legiſlature, which no longer exiſts; their power is of courſe at an end, and they are reduced to a level with other individuals who conſtitute the community. The right of altering the conſtitution, therefore, or of deviating from the eſtabliſhed practice of inheritance, in regard to the ſucceſſion of the crown is inherent in the body of the people, and every individual has an equal right to his ſhare in the general determination; whether his opinion be ſignified *viva voce* or by

by a repreſentative, whom he appoints and inſtructs for the purpoſe. It may be ſuggeſted that the Prince of Orange was raiſed to the throne without any convulſion, or any ſuch difficulties and inconveniences as we have affirmed to be the neceſſary conſequence of a meaſure of that kind. To this remark we anſwer, that ſince the revolution, theſe kingdoms have been divided, and harraſſed by violent and implacable factions, that eagerly ſeek the deſtruction of each other; that they have been expoſed to plots, conſpiracies, inſurrections civil wars and ſucceſſive rebellions, which have not been quelled or defeated without vaſt effuſion of blood, infinite miſchief, calamity and expence to the nation; that they were ſubjected to all thoſe alarms and dangers which are engendered by a diſputed title to the throne; and the efforts of an artful pretender; that they are neceſſarily wedded to the affairs of the continent, and their intereſt ſacrificed to foreign connections, from which they can never be diſengaged. Perhaps all theſe calamities might have been prevented by the interpoſition of the Prince of Orange. James, without forfeiting the crown, might have been

laid

laid under ſuch reſtrictions as would put it out of his power to tyrannize over his ſubjects, either in ſpirituals or temporals. The power of the militia might have been veſted in the two houſes of parliament, as well as the nomination of perſons to fill the great offices of the church and ſtate, and ſuperintend the oeconomy of the adminiſtration, in the application of the public money; a law might have paſſed for annual parliaments, and the king might have been deprived of his power to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and diſſolve them at pleaſure.

Had theſe meaſures been taken, the king muſt have been abſolutely diſabled from employing either force, or corruption in the proſecution of arbitrary deſigns, and the people would have been fairly repreſented in a rotation of parliaments, whoſe power and influence would have been, but of one year's continuance.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Acceſſion of the Princeſs Anne.—Great Diſcontents in Ireland.—The poſture of Affairs in England.—The trial of Sacheverel.—Death of Queen Anne.

A. D. 1701. ANNE, Princeſs of Denmark ſucceeded William in the ſovereignty, which in many reſpects was more limited than formerly, and yet was not altogether ſuch as the Whigs could have wiſhed; however all parties ſeemed to rejoice at her ſucceſſion, the Whigs, as they expected new ſucceſſions from a new ſovereign, the Tories becauſe they entertained great hopes from a princeſs who was a favourer of monarchy, and an avowed defender of the church, a daughter of king James II. and unenſlaved to Dutch or Germanic connexions or alliances.

THE moderate party derived their ſatisfaction from a more rational ſource, for they anticipated in their minds the glories of a reign, which as yet ſtands almoſt unrivalled in the

the Britiſh annals. Anne therefore aſcended the throne, amidſt the acclamations of her ſubjects, who were diſpoſed to believe her, when ſhe told them from the throne, that there was nothing which they could expect, or deſire from her, that ſhe would not be ready to do for their proſperity and happineſs. In the year 1703, great diſcontents broke out in Ireland, which were principally owing to the conduct of the truſtees for the forfeited eſtates. The Duke of Ormond opened the parliament, which was compoſed of men inimical to the catholics, and ignobly attached to their own private intereſts, which they attempted to ſupport at the expence of the conſtitution, and the independence of the country. In the ſpeech which he delivered from the throne, he aſſured the members of his warm attachment to his native land. But in their addreſſes to the queen and Duke of Ormond, they complained that they had been miſrepreſented as, being deſirous to render Ireland independant of England, and to vindicate themſelves from an aſperſion which they ſaid, could only attach itſelf to the catholics, they declared that they held the kingdom of Ireland to be

dependant

dependant on the imperial crown of England. This declaration however incompatible with truth and fact, was no doubt congenial to adventurers, who conſidered only how they could beſt ſecure their late acquired properties, which they thought could never be effectually done, without overturning the undoubted independence of Ireland.

They alſo reſolved that the proteſtant freeholders had been falſely and maliciouſly traduced in a book, intitled, the report of the commiſſioners, appointed to enquire into the Iriſh forfeitures, and they farther reſolved, that Francis Anſley, John Trenchard, Henry Longford and James Hamilton, the authors of that book, had ſcandalouſly and maliciouſly miſrepreſented and traduced the proteſtant freeholders of Ireland, and had endeavoured to create miſconception and jealouſly between the people of England and the proteſtants of Ireland. In conſequence of this, Mr. Anſley was expelled the houſe; as for Hamilton he was dead, and Trenchard retired to England. The commiſſioners had finiſhed the enquiry relative to the forfeitures, previous to the meeting

meeting of parliament, and ſold at under value the beſt of the forfeited eſtates, to a company in England. The parliament neglected a petition of this company, praying to be enabled to make conveyance of lands in Ireland, and John Aſgill their agent, being a member, was expelled, who had offered to lend money on the public credit, provided an act was made to confirm and eſtabliſh the company's purchaſe. The Iriſh parliament then proceeded to enumerate the grievances of the kingdom, they ſtated the conſtitution of Ireland had of late been much ſhook, and that their lives, liberties and properties had been called in queſtion, and tried in a manner unknown to their anceſtors; aſſerting at the ſame time, that they had been put to an unneceſſary expence by the truſtees of the forfeited eſtates, that exceeded in value the current caſh of the nation. That their trade was decayed, and that their manufactures particularly the woollen had been completely ruined by king William, in favour of the Britiſh manufactures.

After ſtating theſe, and many other grievances from which they prayed relief, they voted the neceſſary ſupplies, with a large ſum of money, to make good former deficiencies. Nevertheleſs they continued to make a ſtrict ſcrutiny into many public abuſes; and among the reſt, they diſcovered a falſe charge of one hundred thouſand pounds upon the public. They voted a proviſion for half-pay officers, and aboliſhed as many penſions as amounted to more than ſixteen thouſand pounds a year.

They paſſed an act for ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown as in England, and a moſt ſevere one againſt catholics, ſtill more rigid than that which had been enacted in England againſt them. By this act it was ordained, amongſt other things, that all eſtates of catholics ſhould be equally divided among the children, notwithſtanding any ſettlement to the contrary, unleſs the perſons to whom they were otherwiſe deviſed, would qualify themſelves by taking the oaths, and conforming to the church of England.

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How far this bill was conſonant to the conditions of Limerick is too obvious to remark; however, it is ſaid, that it was by no means agreeable to the Engliſh miniſtry, who expected large preſents from the Iriſh catholics, by the rejection of it, and a conſiderable ſum was actually raiſed by the catholics for that purpoſe. The bill was not rejected, but returned from England with an addition which it was conceived the Iriſh parliament would never accede to, as it directly militated againſt the intereſts of the diſſenting proteſtants who had proved themſelves their firmeſt friends. It was this, that no perſon in Ireland ſhould be deemed capable of any employment, or of being in the magiſtracy in any city or town corporate, who did not qualify himſelf by receiving the ſacrament purſuant to the teſt act paſſed in England.

Athough this was a great hardſhip on the diſſenters, yet the Iriſh parliament ſacrificed that conſideration, rather than not humble the catholics, ſo that this illiberal and unconſtitutional bill and its amendment were received without ſcruple, and paſſed into a law.

After this tranſaction, the Iriſh parliament proceeded to vote, that a work entitled Memoirs of the late King James the Second "was a ſeditious libel;" ordering it to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, and the bookſeller and printer to be proſecuted. A member then informed the houſe that certain diſorderly catholics had aſſembled in the county of Limerick, and plundered ſome proteſtants; upon which they immediately in a ſudden fit of zeal, reſolved that the papiſts of Ireland, ſtill retained hopes of the acceſſion of the perſon known by name and title of the Prince of Wales, in the life time of the late king James, and now by that of James the Third. They were thus proceeding, when they were ſtopped in the midſt of their career, and adjourned by the lord lieutenant, againſt whom, they all inveighed vehemently on adopting ſo neceſſary and ſo truly ſalutary a meaſure.

Indeed, it ſeems evident that ſeverity was by no means calculated to conciliate the catholics, and a ſeaſonable ſhow of indulgence, though

though unimportant in itſelf, might have prevented many evils, which at times ſo much prevailed.

MANY Iriſh catholics have admitted, nay even believed, that king William, though their great enemy, was truly and ſincerely diſpoſed to fulfil the articles of the treaty of Limerick, but the ſame catholics muſt here conſider every reſtriction ſince that period impoſed upon them, as infractions of that treaty which the government was bound to obſerve, and alſo a direct invaſion of the rights and liberties granted them under the ſame.

HENCE aroſe numerous contentions and broils, and ſometimes even inſurrections among the populace. People who are ignorant and unlettered, cannot dive into the ſecrets of cabinets, nor comprehend the policy of nations. Such people cannot conceive why they ſhould be reſtricted by government for following the worſhip of their anceſtors, and adhering to a church they have been taught to believe infallible. They beheld the introduction of

of foreigners amongſt them with a jealous eye, and conſidered them as interlopers; they were devoid of the benefits of education; without arts, induſtry, commerce, and manufactures. This being the ſituation of the populace, what can be expected, but that they ſhould be frequently duped and led aſtray by artful and deſigning men, to anſwer their own particular purpoſes.

The ate of parties in England, at this period, was ſuch, as completely to have prevented Anne however well inclined ſhe might be, from introducing any meaſure for the real good or advantage of Ireland. She was in a manner beſieged by oppoſite factions; and diſputes had already got ſo high in the Engliſh parliament, that Anne was afraid of introducing any new ſubject of either controverſy or contention for the parliament, where the Whigs and Tories were on moſt occaſions indefatigable in expoſing each other's infamy and folly, to the no ſmall advantage of the public.

It is to be lamented that parties in many of their tranſactions have paid more regard to political than to moral conſiderations; being fr quently

frequently obliged to court the populace, they find it expedient to countenace and indulge their caprice and folly, and have even on many occaſions, by the propagation of fiction, and the encouragement of violence, contributed to infatuate, as well as to corrupt the people, under the ſpecious garb of liberty and juſtice. However advantageous the factions of Whig and Tory of that day, might have been to the ſtate, yet they have been extremely injurious to hiſtorical truth, as they have eſtabliſhed many groſs falſhoods, with regard to domeſtic occurrences, which, tho' they exceed the bounds of vulgar credulity, yet, however ſurpriſing, were eagerly embraced by a nation far advanced in civilization. Wherefore extremes of all kinds in parties, ought to be cautiouſly guarded againſt, and though no one will ever pleaſe either faction by moderate opinions, it is thro' their medium alone we are moſt likely to elucidate truth.

The attention of the Engliſh parliament was now accupied in determining the meaſure, which they ſhould purſue, with reſpect to thoſe ruinous continental concerns, in

which the policy of William had involved them, and which Anne was anxious to continue, particularly as ſhe obſerved the hearts of the people now ſet upon them.

It would be endleſs to recount the blood and treaſure expended upon theſe wars and alliances; yet it muſt be owned, that never prince carried them on with more judgment glory and ſucceſs, than Anne did, conſidering the vaſt ſtrength of France at that time, and the temper of the other powers, with whom he had to deal. Yet nothing is more true, than that England has often ſuffered more by her continental connexions, than by her enemies: and this too might here have been the caſe in the reign of Queen Anne, had ſhe not known how to manage, and when covered with the laurels of victory, had attended to the voice of moderation.

A. D. 1703. The Engliſh court was at this time likewiſe employed in the affairs of their ally, the Emperor of Germany; whoſe ſon the Archduke Charles, had aſſumed the title of king of Spain, a diſputed claim

claim between him and Lewis the XIV's grandſon, the former ſupported by Germany England, and Holland, the latter by France, Bavaria, Cologne, Spain and Savoy.

The Arch-duke Charles, by a propoſed marriage with the Infanta of Portugal, attached that kingdom to his intereſt; by which, together with the forces ſent him by the court of Vienna, he hoped to be able to expel the Elector of Bavaria from his dominions. But this was not ſo eaſily accompliſhed until the arrival of the Duke of Marlborough, the Elector was then obliged to fly before his victorious arms.

The Iriſh parliament met on the fifth of March, 1705, and voted one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds for the ſupport of the neceſſary branches of the eſtabliſhment. A diſpute aroſe between the commons and the lower houſe of convocation, a houſe that then exiſted, and was compoſed of the clergy; relative to the tithes of hemp and flax, aſcertained in a clauſe of a bill for the better improvement of the hempen and flaxen manufactures of Ireland. The lower houſe of

convocation preſented a memorial againſt this clauſe, as prejudicial to the rights and properties of the clergy. The commons voted the perſon who brought it in, guilty of a breach of privilege, and ordered him to be taken into cuſtody; they then reſolved, that the convocation were guilty of a contempt and breach of privilege of that houſe. The convocation ſtill preſuming to juſtify their memorial, the commons voted, that all matters relating to it ſhould be raſed out of the Journals and books of the convocation.

The Duke of Ormond, apprehenſive of the conſequences of ſuch heats, adjourned the parliament to the firſt day of May, when both houſes having met again, came to ſome reſolutions that reflected obliquely on the convocation, as enemies to her majeſty's government, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion. The clergy, in order to acquit themſelves of all ſuſpicion, reſolved in their turn, that the church and nation had been happily delivered from popery and tyranny by king William, at the Revolution; that the continuance of theſe bleſſings were due, under God, to the auſpicious

auſpicious reign and happy government of her majeſty queen Anne: that the future ſecurity and preſervation of the church and nation, depended wholly on the ſucceſſion of the crown, as ſettled by law in the proteſtant line: that if any clergyman ſhould by word or writing, declare any thing in oppoſition to theſe reſolutions, they ſhould look upon him as a promoter of diſſentions among the proſtants, and an enemy to the conſtitution. They levelled another reſolution againſt the preſbyterians, importing, that to teach, or preach againſt the doctrine, government, rites or ceremonies of the church, or to maintain ſchools or ſeminaries for the education of youth, in principles contrary to thoſe of the eſtabliſhed church, was a contempt of the eccleſiaſtical laws of the nation; of pernicious conſequences to ſociety, and ſerved only to continue and widen the unhappy ſchiſm and diviſions which prevailed in the kingdom.

A. D. 1706. In June the parliament was prorogued to the ſame month of the following year, and the Duke of

of Ormond embarked for England, leaving the adminiſtration in the hands of lords juſtices.

The eyes of Anne were now turned upon a tranſaction of the utmoſt importance to England, namely an union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. This famous treaty was finally concluded and ratified on the twenty ſecond of July; in which it was ſtipulated, that the ſucceſſion to the united kingdoms of England and Scotland, under the name of Great Britain, ſhould be veſted in the Princeſs Sophia, youngeſt daughter of the king of Bohemia, by Elizabeth daughter of James I. of England and her heirs. According to the acts already paſſed in the parliament of England, that the united kingdoms ſhould be repreſented by one and the ſame parliament, and that all the ſubjects of Great Britain ſhould enjoy an equal participation of privileges and advantages, while Scotland ſhould be repreſented in the parliament of Great Britain, by ſixteen Peers and forty five commoners. This treaty was eagerly courted by the Engliſh Miniſtry, but proved extremely unpalatable to the gentry of the Scottiſh nation.

As

As the trial of Doctor Sacheverel occaſioned no little noiſe at this time, it becomes neceſſary to explain the cauſes of it.

A. D. 1709. On the 13th of December, Mr. Dolben complained to the houſe of commons, of two ſermons preached and publiſhed by Dr. Henry Sácheverel, as containing poſitions contrary to revolutionary principles, to the preſent government, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion. Sacheverel was a clergyman of narrow intellects, and an over-heated imagination. He had acquired ſome popularity among thoſe who diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the name of high-churchmen, and took all occaſions to vent his ſpleen againſt the Diſſenters. On the fifth of November, in St. Paul's church, he, in a violent declamation defended the doctrine of non-reſiſtance; inveighed againſt the toleration of Diſſenters, declared the church was dangerouſly attacked by her enemies; and ſlightly defended by her falſe friends; he ſounded the trumpet for the church, and exhorted the people to put on the whole armour of God.

Sir

Sir Samuel Garrard, the lord mayor, countenanced this harangue, which was publiſhed under his protection, extolled by the Tories, and diſperſed all over the kingdom. Mr. Dolben's complaint againſt Sacheverel was ſeconded in the houſe of commons by ſeveral members; the moſt violent paragraphs were then read, and the ſermons voted ſcandalous and ſeditious libels. Sacheverel having being brought to the bar of the houſe, acknowledged himſelf the author of both ſermons, and mentioned the encouragement he had received from the lord mayor to print that one entitled "The Perils of Falſe Brethren". Sir Samuel, who was a member, denied he had ever given him ſuch encouragement. The doctor being ordered to withdraw, the houſe reſolved he ſhould be impeached of high crimes and miſdemeanors; and Mr. Dolben was ordered to impeach him at the bar of the houſe of lords, in the name of all the commons of England. A committee was appointed to draw up articles, and Sacheverel was taken into cuſtody.

The doctor being impeached at the bar of the houſe of lords, petitioned that he might be admitted to bail; but this indulgence was refuſed, and the commons ſeemed bent upon proſecuting him with ſuch ſeverity as gave diſguſt to men of moderate principles. Mean while the Tories were not idle. They boldly affirmed that the Whigs had formed a deſign to pull down the church; and that this proſecution was intended to try their ſtrength, before they would proceed openly to the execution of their project. Theſe aſſertions were ſupported, and even believed by the clergy, who did not fail to alarm and inflame their hearers, while emiſſaries were employed among the populace already prepared with diſcontent, ariſing from a ſcarcity of corn which had prevailed in almoſt every country in Europe.

The miniſters magnified the dangers to which the church was expoſed, from Diſſenters, Whigs, and lukewarm prelates; and theſe they repreſent as the authors of a deſtructive war, which in a ſhort time would produce univerſal famine. The articles againſt

Sacheverel

Sacheverel having being exhibited, his perſon was committed to the deputy uſher of the black rod; but the lords afterwards admitted him to bail.

A. D. 1709. The lords then appointed the 27th of February for his trial in Weſtminſter-hall. The attention of the whole kingdom was directed to this extraordinary trial. It continued three weeks, during which all other buſineſs was ſuſpended; and the queen herſelf was every day preſent, though in quality of a private ſpectator; a vaſt multitude followed him every day to and from Weſtminſter-Hall, praying for his deliverance as if he had been deſtined to martyrdom. The queen's ſedan was beſet by the populace, exclaiming, "God bleſs your majeſty, and the church, we hope your majeſty is for Doctor Sacherverel." They compelled all perſons to lift their hats to the Doctor as he paſſed in his coach to the Temple, where he lodged; and among theſe ſome members of parliament, were abuſed and inſulted. They deſtroyed ſeveral meeting-houſes, plundered the dwellings of eminent Diſſenters; and threatened

threatened to pull down the houſes of the chancellor, and the biſhop of Sarum. Upon this the queen publiſhed a proclamation for ſuppreſſing the tumult, and ſeveral perſons were apprehended, and afterwards tried for high treaſon. When Sacheverel's council had finiſhed his defence, he himſelf recited a ſpeech, wherein he ſolemnly juſtified his attachments to the queen and her government, and ſpoke in moſt reſpectful terms of the revolution, and the proteſtant ſucceſſion. He maintained the doctrine of non-reſiſtance in all caſes whatſoever, as a maxim of the church in which he was educated; and by many pathetic expreſſions endeavoured to excite the compaſſion of the audience. He was ſurrounded by the queen's chaplains, who encouraged and extolled him as the champion of the church; and he was privately favoured by the queen herſelf; who could not but reliſh a doctrine ſo well calculated for the ſupport of regal authority.

After virulent diſputes and altercations, Sacheverel was found guilty by a majority of 17 voices;

17 voices; and 34 entered a proteſt againſt this deciſion. He was prohibited from preaching for the term of three years, and his two ſermons were ordered to be burned by the hands of the common hangman, in preſence of the lord mayor and two ſheriffs of London and Middleſex.

The lenity of this ſentence paſſed upon Sacheverel, which was in a great meaſure owing to the apprehenſion of popular reſentment, his friends conſidered, as a victory gained over a Whig faction, and they celebrated their triumph with bonfires and illuminations.

A. D. 1710 The effects of thoſe intrigues which had been exerted againſt the Whig miniſters began to appear. The trial of Sacheverel, had excited a popular ſpirit of averſion to thoſe who favoured the diſſenters. From all parts addreſſes were preſented to the queen, concerning the doctrine of reſiſtance, as rebellious and founded upon an-timonarchial and republican principles.

At

At the ſame time counter addreſſes were procured by the Whigs, extolling the revolution and applauding the conduct of the preſent parliament.

The queen began to expreſs her attachment to the Tories, and in a ſhort time there was not one Whig left in any office, except the Duke of Marlborough, who would have renounced his command, had he not been earneſtly diſſuaded by his particular friends, from taking a ſtep which would have been prejudicial to the nation. That the triumph of the Tories might be complete, the queen diſſolved the Whig parliament, after ſuch precautions were taken, as could not fail to influence the new elections in favour of the other party. In the Iriſh parliament held, during the ſummer, the Duke of Ormond and the majority of the peers, ſupported the Tory intereſt, while the commons expreſſed the warmeſt attachment to revolution principles.

The two houſes made ſtrenuous repreſentations, and paſſed ſevere reſolutions againſt each other. After the ſeſſion, Sir Conſtantine Phipps, the chancellor, and general Ingoldſby, were

were appointed juſtices, in the abſence of the Duke of Ormond. For ſome time the Tory miniſters in England, were carrying on a negociation with the court of France: they had a double view in it, namely, to mortify the Whigs and the Dutch, whom they deteſted, and to free their country from a ruinous war, which had all the appearance of becoming habitual to the conſtitution. However the propoſals of peace made by the French king, were diſagreeable even to ſome individuals of the Tory party, and certain peers, who had hitherto adhered to that intereſt, agreed with the Whigs, to make a remonſtrance againſt the preliminary articles.

The court having been apprized of their intentions, prorogued the parliament till the 7th day of December, in expectation of the Scottiſh peers, who would caſt the balance in favour of the miniſtry. At the opening of the ſeſſion, Anne, in her ſpeech, informed them, that notwithſtanding the arts of thoſe who delighted in war, the place and time were appointed for a congreſs; and that the ſtates general had expreſſed their entire confidence in her conduct. She declared her chief con-

cern

cern ſhould be to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the crown, in the Houſe of Hanover; to procure all the advantages to the nation, which a tender and affectionate ſovereign could procure for a dutiful and loyal people; and to obtain ſatisfaction for all her allies. She obſerved that the moſt effectual way to procure peace, would be, to make vigorous preparations for carrying on the war. many inſinuations were levelled at the duke of Marlborough, amongſt others, that he had prolonged the war for the ſake of his own private intereſt alone: upon which occaſion he declared on his conſcience, that he was ever deſirous of a ſafe, honourable, and laſting peace, and that he was always very far from entertaining any deſign of prolonging the war for his own private emolument, as his enemies had moſt falſely inſinuated. Some time after, the commiſſioners for examining the public accounts, having diſcovered that the duke of Marlborough had received an annual preſent of five or ſix thouſand pounds from the contractors, for ſupplying the army with bread, the queen declared in council, that ſhe thought fit to diſmiſs him from all his employments, pre-

paratory to an impartial examination of the charge. This declaration was imparted to the duke in a letter from the queen, in which ſhe took occaſion to complain of the treatment ſhe had received—ſhe probably alluded to the inſolence of his dutcheſs, the ſubjection ſhe had been kept in by the late miniſtry; and the pains earneſtly taken by the Whigs to depreciate her conduct and thwart her meaſures with reſpect to peace. The duke wrote an anſwer to her majeſty, vindicating himſelf againſt the aſperſions on his character.

A. D. 1711. At length a peace was concluded and ratified at Utrecht, greatly to the diſſatisfaction of the Whigs in general, and the Duke of Marlborough in particular, who found his account in the continuance of the war. 'Tis to be lamented, that the diſcovery of many mean and mercenary practices, greatly tarniſhed the glory which the duke had acquired by his great military talents, and other ſhining qualities.

The Duke of Ormond having been appointed to take the command of the Britiſh forces in

Flanders

Flanders; The Duke of Shrewſbury was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He aſſembled the Iriſh Parliament on the twenty-fifth day of November, and found the two houſes ſtill at variance on the oppoſite principles of Whig and Tory. Allen Broderick being choſen ſpeaker of the commons, they ordered a bill to be brought in to attaint the Pretender and all his adherents. They proſecuted Edward Lloyd, for publiſhing a book intitled, "Memoirs of the Chevalier De St. George;" and they agreed upon an addreſs to the queen, to remove from the chancellorſhip Sir Conſtantine Phipps, for the countenance he had ſhewn the Tories. The lords however had reſolved, that Chancellor Phipps, in his ſeveral ſtations, had acquitted himſelf with honour and integrity. The two houſes of convocation preſented an addreſs to the ſame effect.

A. D. 1712. The Duke of Shrewſbury received orders to prorogue this parliament which was divided againſt itſelf, and portended nothing but domeſtic broils, then he obtained leave to return to England

leaving Chancellor Phipps with the archbiſhop of Armagh and Tuam, Juſtices of the kingdom. In this reign Dr. Jonathan Swift roſe into great conſideration in Ireland, and by his great abilities and patriotic principles became the chief patron of the Iriſh nation.

On the firſt day of Auguſt, 1714, died Anne queen of England in the fiftieth year of her age, and in the thirteenth of her reign. Her capacity was naturally good; but not much cultivated by learning; nor did ſhe exhibit any marks of extraordinary genius, nor of perſonal ambition. She was undoubtedly deficient in that vigour of mind neceſſary to enable her to ſupport herſelf independent of the influence of favourites and to avoid the ſnares and fetters of ſycophants: but whatever her weakneſs in theſe reſpects might have been, the goodneſs of her heart was never doubted. She was juſtly diſtinguiſhed for conjugal affection and fidelity, ſhe was a tender mother, a warm friend, an indulgent miſtreſs, a munificent patron, a mild and merciful princeſs, during whoſe reign no ſubject's blood was ſhed for treaſon. She was firmly attached to the

the Church of England from conviction rather than from prepoſſeſſion, being unaffectedly pious, juſt, charitable and compaſſionate. If ſhe was not the greateſt, ſhe was certainly one of the beſt and moſt unblemiſhed of ſovereigns; and well merited the expreſſive, though ſimple epithet of "the good queen Anne."

CHAP. VI.

Acceſſion of George I.—Tories totally excluded the Royal Favour—Pretender's Manifeſto—Reſolutions to impeach the Duke of Ormond—The Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke attainted.—Intended Invaſion by the Duke of Ormond—The Rebellion in Scotland under the Earl of Mar—Bill for ſecuring the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great-Britain.—Declaration of the Pretender.—Clamour in Ireland on Account of Woods's Coinage—Death of George I.—His Character—Acceſſion of George II.—Characters of his Miniſtry—Character of Sir Robert Walpole—He propoſes the Exciſe Scheme.

A. D. 1714. THE queen had no ſooner expired, than orders were immediately iſſued to proclaim for king, in England, Scotland and Ireland, George, Elector of Hanover. The regency appointed the Earl of Dorſet, to convey to the king at Hanover the intimation of his majeſty's acceſſion, and to attend him on his journey.

GEORGE I. aſcended the throne in the fifty-fifth year of his age, without the leaſt oppoſition, tumult or indication of popular diſcontent; and the unprejudiced part of the nation was now fully perſuaded that nō deſign was ever concerted by queen Anne and her miniſtry in favour of the Pretender. On the twentieth of September, 1714, king George landed at Greenwich. From the landing place to his houſe in St. James's park, he walked, accompanied by a great many of the nobility, and other perſons of diſtinction, who had the honour to kiſs his hand, as they approached. At night he ſent for thoſe of the nobility who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their zeal for his ſucceſſion: but the duke of Ormond, Oxford, the lord chancellor and lord Trevor were not of the number. The next morning the earl of Oxford preſented himſelf, but was very coldly received; on the other hand, his majeſty expreſſed uncommon regard for the duke of Marlborough, as well as for all the leaders of the Whig party.

IT was the misfortune of this prince, as well as a great injury to the empire, that he had been

been led to conceive ſtrong prejudices againſt the Tories, who conſtituted ſuch a conſiderable body of his ſubjects.

They were now excluded from all ſhare of the royal favour, which was totally engroſſed by their opponents; theſe early marks of his averſion, which he took no pains to conceal, alienated the affections of many from his government and perſon, who otherwiſe would have ſerved him with fidelity and regard. The duke of Ormond was inſtantly diſmiſſed from his command, which was reſtored to the Duke of Marlborough, and the government of Ireland to the earl of Sunderland.

An almoſt inſtantaneous change was effected in all the official departments of the ſtate. In a word, the whole nation was delivered into the hands of the Whigs. On the twentieth of October, George I. was crowned at Weſtminſter, with the uſual ſolemnity, at which the Earl of Oxford and lord Bolingbroke aſſiſted. In the mean time, the malcontents were conſiderably encreaſed in England by the king's attachment to the Whig faction

faction. The old clamour reſpecting the danger of the church was revived; jealouſies were excited, ſeditious libels were diſperſed; and dangerous tumults raiſed in different parts of the kingdom. Many gentlemen of the Whig faction were abuſed; magiſtrates were reviled and inſulted by the populace in the execution of their office. The Pretender ſeized this opportunity to tranſmit by the French mail, copies of a printed manifeſto to the Dukes of Shrewſbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the firſt diſtinction. In this declaration, he mentioned the good intentions of his ſiſter towards him, which were prevented by her lamented death. He obſerved that his people inſtead of doing him and themſelves juſtice, had proclaimed for their king a foreign prince, contrary to the fundamental and inconteſtible laws of hereditary right, which their pretended acts of ſettlement could never abrogate. Shortly after, the parliament reſolved to trace out thoſe meaſures which had been taken in England by the Pretender's adherents, and whereon he built his hopes; and to bring the author's of them to condign puniſhment.

On

A. D. 1715. On the twenty firſt of June, Mr. ſecretary Stanhope, impeached James Duke of Ormond, of high treaſon, and other high crimes and miſdemeanours with regard to the peace at Utrecht. Many members ſpoke in favour of the Duke; they expatiated on his noble birth and qualifications; they enumerated the ſervices performed by him for the crown and the nation, they obſerved that in the whole courſe of his late conduct, he had only obeyed the queen's commands; and they affirmed that all the allegations againſt him, could not in the rigour of the law, be conſtrued into high-treaſon. But all arguments and eloquence were loſt upon the Whigs, and the queſtion being put was carried for the impeachment of the Duke of Ormond, who perceiving every thing conducted by a furious ſpirit of revenge, and that he could not expect the benefit of an impartial trial, conſulted his own ſafety, by withdrawing himſelf from the kingdom.

Shortly after a bill paſſed both houſes of the Britiſh Parliament, and received the royal aſſent for attainting the Duke of Ormond and Lord

Lord Bollingbroke if they did not ſurrender themſelves in a limited time; and they having omitted to ſurrender purſuant to the time ſpecified in the bill; the houſe of lords ordered the Earl Marſhal to raſe out of the liſt of peers their names and armorial bearings. Inventories were taken of their perſonal eſtates; and the Duke's atchievment, as knight of the garter, was taken down from St. George's Chapel at Windſor.

A MAN of ſenſibility and candour cannot, without an emotion of ſorrow and indignation, reflect upon the ruin of the noble family of Ormond, in the perſon of a brave, generous, and humane nobleman; to whom no crime was imputed, but that of having obeyed the commands of his ſovereign. The duke of Ormond, and lord Bolingbroke retired into France and were driven by hard uſage, and reſentment into a ſyſtem of politics which otherwiſe they would not have eſpouſed.

FINDING themſelves condemned unheard, and attainted, they engaged in the ſervice of the Pretender, and correſponded with the Tories of England.

THE

A. D. 1715 The Tories of Great Britain being totally excluded from any ſhare in the government and legiſlature, and expoſed to the inſolence and fury of a faction which they deſpiſed, began now to wiſh in earneſt for a revolution. Some of them held private conſultations, and communicated with the Jacobites, who conveyed their ſentiments to the Chevalier De St. George, with ſuch exaggerations as were dictated by their own eagerneſs and extravagance. They aſſured the Pretender that the nation was entirely diſaffected to the new government; and indeed the clamours, tumults and converſation of the people in general countenanced this aſſertion. They promiſed to take arms without farther delay in his favour; and engaged that the Tories ſhould join them at his firſt landing in Great Britain. They therefore beſought him to come over with all poſſible expedition, declaring that his appearance would produce an immediate revolution.

The Chevalier reſolved to take advantage of this favourable diſpoſition; and made preparations accordingly. However all theſe intrigues

trigues and machinations were diſcovered and communicated to the Britiſh Court, by the Earl of Stair, who then reſided as Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris. He detected the Chevalier's ſcheme while it was yet in embryo, and gave ſuch early intimation of it, as enabled King George to take effectual meaſures for defeating the deſign. But the partizans of the Pretender had proceeded too far to retreat with ſafety; and therefore determined to try their fortune in the field. Having choſen Scotland for the ſcene of action, they aſſembled there, under the command of the Earl of Mar, and after proclaiming the Pretender in that kingdom, they erected his ſtandard on the ſixth of September.

In the ninth of October the Earl of Derwentwater and Mr. Forſter took the field in England and proclaimed the Pretender. But Forſter was ſurrounded at Preſton and taken by ſurprize. The day on which the rebels ſurrendered at Preſton in England was remarkable for the battle of Dunblaine in Scotland, fought between the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Mar, who commanded the Pretender's

der's forces. The earl of Mar would have probably obtained the victory, had not his troops been two eager in the purſuit of that part of the royal army, which they had broken; but on this account it proved a drawn battle, and the Highlanders ſeeing no probability of coming again to action, ſoon after diſperſed and returned to their own habitations. Afterwards the Pretender came over to Scotland, from whence he was repulſed by the Duke of Argyle, and at laſt effected his eſcape to the continent in a ſmall French veſſel accompanied by the Earl of Mar, and many more of his adherents. In the mean time, the gaols in Great Britain were filled with ſuch of his party, as had been apprehended. The Earls of Derwentwater, Kenmure and Wintoun were beheaded on Tower Hill, and many of inferior rank were executed at Tyburn. But Forſter and many others made their eſcape from Newgate, and ſaved themſelves by flight from an ignominious and diſgraceful end.

A. D. 1715. The Duke of Ormond had previouſly made an unſucceſsful and fruitleſs attempt in the weſt of England in favour of the Chevalier. Thus terminated a rebellion which proved fatal to many noble families; a rebellion which, in all probability, would never have happened, had not the violent meaſures of a Whig miniſtry kindled ſuch a flame of diſcontent as encouraged the partiſans of the Pretender to hazard a revolt. During all this time we hear of no commotion nor inſurrection in Ireland.

The parliament of Ireland met on the 12th of November, and ſeemed even more zealous if poſſible, than that of England for the preſent adminiſtration. They paſſed bills for recognizing the king's title; for the ſecurity of his perſon and government; for ſetting a price on the Pretender's head; and for attainting the Duke of Ormond. They granted the ſupplies without oppoſition. All thoſe of the Tory party who had addreſſed the late queen in favour of Sir Conſtantine Phipps, then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, whom

whom the Whigs wiſhed to turn out, were now brought on their knees and cenſured as guilty of a breach of privilege.

A. D. 1715. THEY deſired the lords juſtices would iſſue a proclamation againſt the catholic inhabitants of Limerick and Galway, who in virtue of the capitulation ſigned by king William, claimed an exemption from the penalties impoſed upon other papiſts. They engaged in an aſſociation againſt the pretender and all his abettors.

THEY voted the Earl of Angleſey an enemy to the king and kingdom, becauſe he adviſed the queen to diſband the army, and to prorogue the late parliament; and they addreſſed the king to remove him from his council and ſervice.

THE lords juſtices granted orders for apprehending the Earls of Antrim and Weſtmeath, and the Lords Netterville, Cahir, and Dillon, as perſons ſuſpected of diſaffection to his majeſty's perſon and government. There ſeemed to be no cauſe for ſuch ſeverity at the time

time, for although Great Britain was embroiled, Ireland actually enjoyed peace and tranquility. But this was a period when blind zeal and the ſpirit of party raged uncontrouled, and when men's minds were full of fear and jealouſies; when a beloved ſovereign had deſcended to the ſhades, and the crown appeared to totter on the head of her ſucceſſor. However theſe conſiderations by no means warranted the violation of the treaty of Limerick, nor many other tranſactions of a ſimilar kind which took place during this reign. Yet our wonder ceaſes, when we reflect that this was a criſis in which juſtice and equity were little regarded and the ſolemn faith of nation was audaciouſly and wantonly violated condemned.

Amongst theſe diſputed convulſions, the Engliſh parliament paſſed an act for attaching the dependency of Ireland upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, and this act, known by the name of the ſixth of George I. was made, for the purpoſe of enabling the Britiſh parliament to make laws to bind the people of Ireland, an act derogatory to the true honour of Great Britain as it was injurious to this

kingdom, as a free and independent nation. This unjuſt law, was followed by another tranſaction of a ſimilar tyrannic caſt, by which Great Britain robbed our houſe of lords of the right of appeal from our courts of judicature. It was effected at the inſtance of Maurice Anneſley an Iriſh gentleman, who had appealed to the houſe of peers in England, from a decree of the houſe of peers in Ireland, which the Britiſh peers reverſed, and ordered the barons of the exchequer in Ireland, to put Mr. Anneſley in poſſeſſion of the lands he had been deprived of by the decree in that kingdom. The barons obeyed this order, and the Iriſh houſe of Lords paſſed a vote againſt the barons, as having acted in derogation to the king's prerogative, in his high court of parliament in Ireland, as alſo of the rights and privileges of that kingdom, and of the parliament thereof; they likewiſe ordered the barons to be taken into cuſtody of the uſher of the black rod; they tranſmitted a long repreſentation to the king, demonſtrating their right to the final judicature in this kingdom, and the Duke of Leeds ſtrenuouſly ſupported their cauſe by unanſwerable arguments in the Britiſh houſe of lords.

Not-

A. D. 1719. NOTWITHSTANDING theſe arguments, the houſe of lords in England reſolved, that the barons of the exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage, alſo conformable to law in ſupport of his majeſty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the crown of Great Britain.

THEY addreſſed the king to confer on them ſome marks of his royal favour, as a recompence for the ill uſage they had undergone. At length they propoſed a bill, by which the Iriſh houſe of lords was deprived of all right to paſs ſentence, affirm, or reverſe any judgment or decree, given or made in any court within that kingdom. In the houſe of commons it was oppoſed by Mr. Pitt and others, on the grounds of being a palpable infringement on the rights of the Iriſh peers and a direct violation of the conſtitution of Ireland. However the bill was carried and received the royal aſſent. This perhaps was as great and daring an act of uſurpation and injuſtice as ever was attempted, in any the moſt arbitrary and deſpotic reign, and cannot be defended by the boldeſt advocate for oppreſſion, on any

principle ſave, only that tyrannic one, *that power conſtitutes right.*—On the opening of the Engliſh parliament in October, 1722, the king obſerved, that the adherents of the Pretender, were once more determined to attempt the ſubverſion of his government. He expatiated upon the mildneſs and integrity of his own government, and inveighed againſt the ingratitude, implacability, and madneſs of the diſaffected; concluding with an aſſurance, that he would ſteadily adhere to the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and continue to make the laws of the realm, the rule and meaſure of all his actions. Such addreſſes were preſented by both houſes, as the fears and attachment of the majority, may be ſuppoſed to have dictated on ſuch occaſion. A bill was brought into the houſe of lords, for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus act for a whole year; but they were far from being unanimous in agreeing to ſuch an unuſual length of time.

A. D. 1722. By this ſuſpenſion, the Engliſh peers in effect inveſted the miniſtry with a dictatorial power over the liberties of the nation. The oppoſition to this

this bill in the houſe of commons was ſo violent, that Mr. Robert Walpole found it neceſſary to alarm their apprehenſions by a dreadful ſtory of a deſign to ſeize the bank and exchequer, and to proclaim the Pretender on the royal exchange. Their paſſions having been inflamed by this ridiculous artifice, the commons paſſed the bill, which immediately received the royal aſſent. On the ſixteenth day of November, his Majeſty ſent to the houſe of lords, the original printed copy of a declaration, ſigned by the Pretender—It was dated at Lucca, on the twentieth of September, in the preſent year, and appeared to be a propoſal addreſſed to the ſubjects of Great Britain and Ireland, as well as to all foreign princes and ſtates.

A. D. 1722. In this paper, the Chevalier having mentioned the late violation of the freedom of elections; conſpiracies invented to give a colour to new oppreſſion; infamous informers; and the ſtate of proſcription in which he reaſonably preſumed every honeſt man to be; very gravely propoſed, that if King George would relinquiſh

to him the throne of Great Britain, he would in return, confer upon him the title of king in his native dominions, and ſolicit all other ſtates to confirm it: the Chevalier likewiſe promiſed to leave king George his ſucceſſion to the Britiſh dominions ſecure, whenever in due courſe his natural right ſhould take place. Both houſes unanimouſly reſolved that this declaration was a falſe, inſolent, and traiterous libel: and aſſured his majeſty they were determined to ſupport his title to the crown with their lives and fortunes.

The commons prepared a bill for raiſing one hundred thouſand pounds a year, upon the real and perſonal eſtates of all papiſts, or perſons educated in the popiſh religion, towards defraying the expences occaſioned by the late rebellion and diſorder. It paſſed the upper houſe of parliament without amendment, and was ſtamped with the royal ſanction. This bill muſt evidently appear in the eyes of all moderate men to be a ſpecies of perſecution, and on that principle was oppoſed by many members of the houſe of peers.

King

KING George concluded treaties with almoſt every prince and ſtate in Europe, and they ſucceeded each other ſo rapidly, and appeared at firſt view ſo intricate and difficult, that they can only be accounted for on theſe principles, namely, that of aſcertaining his acquiſitions as Elector of Hanover, and his reſolution to ſecure himſelf againſt the diſaffection of his Britiſh ſubjects, as well as the efforts of the Pretender. Great Britain at this period enjoyed profound tranquillity.

IRELAND was a little ruffled by an incident which ſeemed to have been miſrepreſented to the Iriſh. William Wood had obtained a patent for furniſhing Ireland with Copper currency, in which it was reported to have been deficient. A great clamour was raiſed againſt this coin.

The Iriſh parliament which met in September, reſolved, that it would be prejudicial to the revenue, deſtructive of trade, and of dangerous conſequence to the rights of the ſubject: that the patent had been granted on miſrepreſentation; that the halfpence would be found deficient

deficient in weight: that even if the terms of the patent had been complied with, there would have been a great loſs to the nation; that granting the power of coinage to a private perſon, had ever been prejudicial to the kingdom, and would at all times be of dangerous conſequence. Addreſſes from both houſes were preſented to the king on this ſubject. The affair was referred to the lords of the privy council in England; they juſtified the conduct of the patentee, upon the report of Sir Iſaac Newton, and other officers of the mint, who made the aſſay of Wood's halfpence, and found he had complied with the terms of the patent. They declared that this currency exceeded in quality and quantity, all the copper money which had been coined for Ireland, in the reigns of king Charles II.—James II.—and William and Mary.

A. D. 1723. The privy council, likewiſe, demonſtrated, that his majeſty's predeceſſors, had always exerciſed the undoubted prerogative of granting patents in Ireland to private perſons; that none of theſe

theſe patents had been ſo beneficial to the kingdom, as this granted to William Wood, who had not obtained it in an unprecedented manner, but after a reference to the attorney and ſolicitor general, and after Sir Iſaac Newton had been conſulted in every particular: finally, they proved by a number of witneſſes, that there was a real want of ſuch money in Ireland. Notwithſtanding this deciſion, the ferment was kept up in Ireland, particularly by the writings of the celebrated Dean Swift, and ſome other authors—So that Wood voluntarily reduced his coinage, from the value of one hundred thouſand, to that of forty thouſand pounds. Thus, the noiſe was ſilenced. The commons of Ireland at this time, paſſed an act for accepting the affirmation of the quakers inſtead of an oath; and voted three hundred and forty thouſand pounds, towards diſcharging the debts of the nation, which amounted to about double that ſum.

To put the public debts of the nation into a method of being ſpeedily and gradually paid, has been the repeated theory of patriotiſm,

iſm, but unhappily for the ſubjects has never been reduced to practice. Ireland at this time was quite barren of ſuch events, as deſerve a place in hiſtory. The government was firmly eſtabliſhed, and peace and tranquillity perfectly reſtored.

A. D. 1724 GEORGE the I. after a reign of near thirteen years, was ſeized with a paralytic diſorder on the road to Hanover; he loſt the faculty of ſpeech, became lethargic, and was conveyed in a ſtate of inſenſibility to Oſnabruck. There he expired on Sunday the 11th of June in the year 1727, in the ſixty eighth year of his age.

GEORGE the I. was plain and ſimple in his perſon and addreſs; grave and compoſed in his deportment, though eaſy, familiar and facetious in his hours of relaxation. Before he aſcended the throne of Great Britain he had acquired a character of a good general, and a wiſe prince, who perfectly underſtood and ſteadily purſued his own intereſt. With theſe qualities, it cannot be doubted but that he came to England extremely well diſpoſed to govern

govern his new ſubjects according to the maxims of the Britiſh conſtitution and the genius of the people; and whenever he deviated from theſe principles, we may take it for granted that he was miſled by the venal ſuggeſtions of a miniſtry, whoſe power and influence were founded on corruption. For whenever the miniſtry wanted to carry any meaſure, they rang the changes upon a few words, that have been repeated ever ſince like cabaliſtical ſounds, by which the nation was enchanted into a dangerous connexion with the concerns of the continent. They harangued, they inſiſted upon the machinations of the diſaffected, the deſigns of a popiſh Pretender, the Proteſtant intereſt, and the balance of power, until theſe expreſſions became abſolutely terms of ridicule with every man of common ſenſe and reflection.

A. D. 1727, GEORGE the I. was too partial to a particular party among his ſubjects, and treated another with ſuch ſeverity as occaſioned him many troubles, and was

was the cauſe of this reign having been ſtained by ſome ſcenes of blood which were unknown to that of Queen Anne. In the reign of George the I. the commerce of England flouriſhed even under a load of grievous impoſition. But the manufactures of Ireland, particularly the woollen, were verging to decay, owing to that monopolizng diſpoſition, which has been ſo apparent, in the conduct of the ſiſter country, on too many occaſions. The linen manufacture indeed, in the North of Ireland, was encreaſing rapidly; and the more ſo, as it did not interfere with any ſimilar manufacture in Great Britain. For it is a truth that, candour requires ſhould be declared, that the ſelfiſh policy, the illiberal and narrow principles of the commercial intereſts of the ſiſter nation, had depreſſed two long, the trade commerce and manufactures of Ireland.

From the death of Charles II. to that of George I. conſiderable improvements took place in every branch of literature. Doctors Atterbury and Clarke diſtinguiſhed themſelves in divinity. John Locke ſhone forth the great reſtorer

reſtorer of human reaſon. The Earl of Shaftſbury raiſed an elegant, though feeble, ſyſtem of moral philoſophy. Berkely Lord biſhop of Cloyne, exceeded all his contemporaries in ſubtlety and variety of metaphyſical arguments, as well as in the art of deduction. Wallis, Halley, and Flamſtead made great progreſs in the mathematics and aſtronomy. But in thoſe ſciences Sir Iſaac Newton eclipſed them all.

William Congreve diſtinguiſhed himſelf for his comedies, which are not ſo famous for ſtrength of character and power of humour, as for wit, elegance and regularity. Steele in his comedies ſucceſsfully engrafted modern characters on the ancient drama. Farquhar drew his pictures from fancy, rather than from nature, and his merit chiefly conſiſts in the agreeable pertneſs and vivacity of his dialogue. The fame of Addiſon as a poet greatly exceeded his genius, which was cold and enervate, but he yielded to none in the character of an eſſayiſt either for ſtyle or matter. Swift whoſe muſe ſeems to have been mere miſantrophy, was a cynic rather than a poet, and his natural dryneſs and ſarcaſtic

caſtic ſeverity would have been diſagreeable, had he not qualified them by adopting the extravagant humour of Lucian and Rabelais. Prior was lively, familiar and amuſing. Rowe was ſolemn florid and declamatory. Pope was the prince of lyric poetry, he was unrivalled in ſatire, ethics, and poliſhed verſification. Parnell was agreeable. Garth wild witty and whimſical. Gay's fables may vie with thoſe of La Fontaine, in native humour, eaſe, and ſimplicity; his genius for paſtoral was truly original. Doctor Bentley ſtood foremoſt in the liſt of critics and commentators. The moſt remarkable political writers were, Davenant, Hore, Molineaux, Swift, Steele, Addiſon, Bolingbroke, and Trenchard.

It is to be lamented that princes in general are ſo careleſs in their temper, or ſo little endowed with the virtue of liberality, that they have allowed many authors of virtue and probity, to live in obſcurity and die in want, and men of the greateſt merit, aided by the moſt powerful abilities and genius, have been neceſſitated to write for bread. Craving courtiers, paraſites and ſycophants ſurround princes

ces and courts, and engroſs that expence, which would be much better beſtowed on the encouragement of literary merit.

Lewis XIV. conferred penſions on learned men throughout all Europe; his academies were directed by rules and ſupported by ſalaries. A generoſity which does great honour to his memory, and in the eyes of all the ingenious part of mankind will be eſteemed an atonement for many of the errors of his reign. We may be ſurpriſed, that this example ſhould not be more followed by princes; ſince it is certain that this bounty ſo extenſive, ſo beneficial, and ſo much celebrated, coſt not that monarch ſo great a ſum as is often conferred on one ſingle, uſeleſs overgrown favourite or courtier.

A. D. 1727. At the acceſſion of George the Second, the Engliſh nation had great cauſe to wiſh for an alteration of meaſures. The public debt, notwithſtanding the boaſted oeconomy and management of the miniſters, was now increaſed to fifty millions, two hundred and ſixty one thouſand,

two

two hundred and ſix pounds. The nation was bewildered in a labyrinth of treaties and conventions, by which it ſtood engaged to pay ſubſidies to many continental powers, with whom its real intereſt could never be connected.

The wealth of the nation had been laviſhed upon theſe foreign connexions; upon unneceſſary wars, and unſucceſsful expeditions. Dangerous encroachments had been made upon the conſtitution; by the repeal of the act for triennial parliaments; by frequent ſuſpenſions of the *habeas corpus* act, upon frivolous occaſions; by repealing clauſes in the act of ſettlement; by votes of credit; by habituating the people to a ſtanding army; and above all, by eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of corruption, which at all times would ſecure a majority in parliament. The nature of prerogative was now ſo well underſtood, and ſo ſecurely limited and reſtrained, that it could no longer be uſed for the ſame oppreſſive purpoſes as formerly; and an avowed extenſion of the prerogative was too bold a meaſure for either the courage

or

or reſolution of the preſent miniſtry to exert. They knew their own ſtrength, and had recourſe to a more certain and effectual expedient.

The vice, luxury, and proſtitution of the age; the almoſt total extinction of ſentiment, honour, and public ſpirit; had prepared the minds of men for ſlavery and corruption. The means were in the hands of the miniſtry; the public treaſure was at their devotion; they multiplied places and penſions to encreaſe the number of their creatures: they laviſhed the money of the nation without taſte, diſcernment, decency, or remorſe; they inliſted an army of the moſt abandoned mercenaries, whom they employed to vindicate the worſt meaſures, in the face of truth, common ſenſe, and common honeſty: and they did not fail to ſtigmatize as Jacobites and enemies to the government, all thoſe who preſumed to queſtion the merit of their adminiſtration.

An expreſs arriving on the fourteenth of June, with an account of the king's death,

King George, the Second, repaired from Richmond, where he received this intelligence, to Leiceſter-houſe; and the members of the privy council being aſſembled, were ſworn anew. His majeſty declared his firm determination to maintain and preſerve the conſtitution in church and ſtate, and to cultivate thoſe alliances which his father had made with foreign princes. On the next day he was proclaimed king of Great Britain. All the great officers of ſtate continued in their places. Sir Robert Walpole, kept poſſeſſion of the treaſury, and the ſyſtem of politics, which the late king had eſtabliſhed, underwent no ſort of alteration. Ireland at the commencement of this reign found herſelf happy under the government of Lord Carteret. The parliament that aſſembled in the month of September, 1729, approved themſelves the fathers of their country; for in ſome time after this ſeſſion, which was both conducted and concluded with ſo much harmony and patriotiſm, they eſtabliſhed funds for the diſcharge of the public debts, and for ſupporting the expences of government: they enacted ſalutary laws, for the encouragement

encouragement of manufactures, trade and agriculture; they alſo formed many wiſe regulations in different branches of civil oeconomy. Lord Carteret returned to Great Britain; and was ſucceededby the Duke of Dorſet. Lord Carteret, by a mild and moderate government, made the Iriſh happy and contented; he checked and reſtrained the moſt deſigning and artful part of the nation, and ſoothed the moſt violent. He controled prodigality, and encouraged induſtry; he promoted the commerce, and gave ſpirit to the drooping manufactures of the country; he was frugal of the public money and hoſtile to venality and corruption. By ſuch conduct, Lord Carteret, has tranſmitted to poſterity, in the faithful regiſter of Iriſh gratitude, a name that muſt be revered for its wiſdom, its virtue, and its philanthropy. The adminiſtration of Lord Carteret, proves that a chief governor of Ireland, may at the ſame time ſerve and promote the intereſt of the crown, and conciliate the affections and eſteem of the people.

A. D. 1729 THE hiſtory of Ireland, for ſome time ſubſequent to this period, is no way intereſting nor remarkable for events of any great moment or importance; while Great Britain was engaged in an annual revolution of debates in parliament, debates in which the ſame arguments perpetually recur on the ſame ſubjects. At this period, the interior government of Great Britain was conducted by Sir Robert Walpole, a man of extraordinary talents, who from low beginnings, raiſed himſelf to the head of the treaſury. He was endowed with a ſpecies of eloquence, which, though neither nervous nor elegant, flowed with great facility, and was ſo plauſible on all ſubjects, that even when he miſrepreſented the truth, whether from ignorance or deſign; he rarely failed to perſuade that part of his audience, for whoſe hearing his ſpeech was particularly intended. He was an avowed enemy to the Tory party. He was moreover intimately acquainted with the nature of the public funds, and well underſtood the whole myſtery of ſtock jobbing. This knowledge produced a connexion

nexion between him and the money-corporations, which ſerved to enhance his importance.

A. D. 1732. He perceived the bulk of mankind was attached by a ſordid thirſt of lucre, and he had ſagacity enough to convert the degeneracy of the times to his own advantage and emolument; and on this, and this alone, he founded the entire ſuperſtructure of his adminiſtration. His influence was ſuch, that all objections vaniſhed before his unbounded power, which nothing but the immediate danger of popular commotion could poſſibly check.

Such interpoſition once actually defeated the famous exciſe ſcheme, which had been vigorouſly adopted by Walpole. The exciſe ſyſtem Walpole introduced on the principle of preventing numerous frauds and perjuries, whereby the public revenue was very conſiderably injured, and the fair trader ruined. But the meaſure of a general exciſe was oppoſed, on the grounds that it would prove deſtructive to trade, and dangerous to the liberty of the ſubject. It was

wiſely

wiſely ſuggeſted, that it would be productive of a ſwarm of exciſe officers, appointed and payed by the crown, conſequently dependent on it, and by which it would ſtill be enabled to make further ſtrides in influencing the freedom of elections. Had Walpole on this occaſion nothing to encounter, but the oppoſition within doors, he would have undoubtedly carried his ſcheme into effect; but the whole nation was alarmed, and clamoured loudly againſt the bill. The populace blocked up all the avenues to the houſe of commons, and even inſulted the perſons of thoſe members who were known to favour the exciſe ſcheme. Sir Robert Walpole at length began to be in fear of his life, and poſtponed the bill. The miſcarriage of this bill was celebrated with public rejoicings, in London and Weſtminſter; and the miniſter was burnt in effigy by the populace. The ſubject which of all others employed the eloquence and abilities of both ſides of the houſe to the moſt powerful exertions, was a bill introduced for the repeal of the Septennial Act, and for the more frequent meeting and calling of parliament. It was aſſerted that the ſeptennial law, was an encroachment

encroachment on the rights of the people; a law paſſed by a parliament that made itſelf ſeptennial.

A. D. 1733. The miniſtry challenged the oppoſition to produce one inſtance in which the leaſt encroachment had been made on the liberties of the people ſince the ſeptennial act took place: and they defied the moſt ingenious and refined malice to prove, that his preſent majeſty had ever attempted to extend the prerogative beyond its legal bounds. On the other ſide, it was maintained, that the law relative to treaſon was materially changed ſince that period; that in former times a man was tried by a jury of his neighbours, within the county where the crimes were alledged to have been committed; but by an act of a ſeptennial parliament he might be removed and tried any where that either the crown or miniſter pleaſed. It was aſked if the riot act had not been an encroachment on the rights of the people. An act by which a little inſignificant juſtice of the peace, the meaneſt and vileſt tool a miniſter can uſe, who perhaps ſubſiſts by his being in the

the commiſſion, and may be deprived of that ſubſiſtence at the pleaſure of his patron, had it in his power to put a number of the beſt ſubjects in the kingdom to death, without any trial or form, but that of reading a proclamation. However, notwithſtanding the moſt warm, the moſt nervous and the moſt pathetic ſtrains of eloquence in favour of the bill, it was ſuppreſſed by a corrupt majority of Walpole's creatures.

In the ſeſſion of 1735, a petition was preſented to the houſe of commons of Ireland, by Benjamin Copland and others, on behalf of themſelves and the reſt of the farmers, graziers of Ireland, ſetting forth, "that ſeveral "of the petitioners have been of late, and "now are, ſued for the tithes of the agiſtment "of dry and barren cattle, notwithſtanding "that according to the beſt information they "have had, no ſuch tithes have been ever "paid, or even demanded in this kingdom "until a few years ſince, and praying relief "therein."

A com-

A committee of thirty ſeven members was then appointed to examine the allegations of the ſaid petition, and to report their proceedings and opinion thereon. The committee reſolved, that the petitioners had proved the allegations of their petition, to the ſatisfaction of the committee. The houſe accordingly ordered, that leave be given to bring in heads of a bill for aſcertaining the tithe of herbage, or agiſtment of dry and barren cattle in Ireland, and ſettling the methods of recovering the ſame. By this it fully appears, that it was the decided ſenſe of the houſe of commons, that the tithe of agiſtment was a legal and exiſting part of the property of the clergy of Ireland at that period. We have not been able to diſcover whether any ſuch heads of a bill were introduced; but certain it is, no ſuch bill paſſed. However the oppoſers of the clergy ſeemed aware, that the petition and order above recited were rather too favourable to their claim of agiſtment tithe, and probably declined to bring in the bill, which, according to the tenor of the order, would have recognized the title of the clergy.

The enemies of the agiſtment tithe took new ground for their attack, and on the fifth of March, 1735, a petition of Samuel Law, and other gentlemen and landholders of the county of Meath, was preſented to the houſe, ſetting forth, "that the clergy in the ſeveral "parts where the petitioners dwell, have com- "menced and threaten to commence ſuits for "*a new kind of tithe*, under the name of agiſt- "ment of dry and barren cattle grievous "to the petitioners and praying relief." On this petition a committee of thirty ſeven members was appointed, and on the 17th of March, the report of the committee and their reſolutions thereon were laid before the houſe. The reſolution was as follows: "reſolved, that the petitioners have fully proved the allegations of their petition, to the ſatisfaction of the committee, and deſerve the ſtrongeſt aſſiſtance the houſe can give them."

The houſe agreed to this reſolution and reſolved, that the allotments, glebes, and known tithes, with other eccleſiaſtical emoluments, aſcertained before this new (which they ignorantly called ſo) demand of tithe of agiſtment

ment for dry and barren cattle, are an honourable and plentiful proviſion for the clergy of Ireland.

It was alſo reſolved, that the demand of the tithe of agiſtment, was grievous and burthenſome to both landlords and tenants. And a motion was put and carried, that the commencing ſuits upon theſe demands, muſt impair the proteſtant intereſt, by driving many uſeful hands out of the kingdom, and occaſion popery and infidelity to gain ground by the conteſts which would neceſſarily ariſe between the laity and clergy. This buſineſs was then concluded by this reſolution. "Reſolved, "that all legal ways and means ought to be "made uſe of, to oppoſe all attempts that ſhall "hereafter be framed to carry demands of "agiſtment tithe into execution, until a proper "remedy can be provided by the legiſlature."

It ſurely was an extraordinary doctrine, to call the tythe of agiſtment a new demand, as nothing can be more certain, or better eſtabliſhed in law, than that the tithe of agiſtment is due by the common law, as indiſputably as

as the tithe of hay or corn. Corrupt as thoſe days were, the members muſt have known that an expreſſed opinion of that houſe could not change the laws of the land, or deprive a whole body of men, an integral part of the ſtate, of their legal property. If it were not their property, the courts of juſtice would ſoon pronounce the law againſt them. The clergy were intimidated by this reſolution from a proſecution of their juſt rights, as no clergyman has been found bold enough, to give the law of the land an opportunity of ſtruggling with an half expreſſed opinion of one houſe of parliament. As the reſolution is not grounded on law, let us examine if it was founded on ſound policy, or on the real intereſts of the country.

No man who has read a page in hiſtory, and who has looked round him, and contemplated the habits, arts, and manners of the living world, can for an inſtant entertain a doubt but tillage is preferable to paſturage, a mode of occupying the ſoil, which enriches the few and ſtarves the many, which converts the moſt delightful plains of Ireland, into ſilent forlorn,

and

and deſolate waſte; which nips population, induſtry and national proſperity in the bud, by preventing the means of earning an honeſt ſubſiſtence by uſeful labour. Paſturage, when too far extended, neceſſarily produces all theſe evils.

Thus, by this impolitic reſolution, the ſubſiſtence of the clergy was in future to be confined to that ſpecies of land which ought leaſt to be burthened, and to that claſs of people, which in ſound policy, ſhould be moſt effectually encouraged and ſupported. Thus a bounty was granted to extend the propagation of a national evil, while the real cultivator of the ſoil ſhould repine at an incumbrance, though ſanctioned by law, from which intrigue, influence, and the ſelfiſhneſs of intereſted men in power, had relieved his indolent and deſolating neighbours.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

Violent debate on the Motion, introduced into the Britiſh Parliament, for a Settlement on the Prince of Wales—Rebellion exited by the young Pretender—His total defeat by the Duke of Cumberland—Peace of Aix la Chapelle—Death of the Prince of Wales—An Act for changing the old Style—Diſputes in the Iriſh Parliament—Earthquake at Liſbon—Death of Admiral Byng—Attempt of Damien on the French King—Proceedings in Ireland—The Reſolutions of the Iriſh Parliament—Thurot's Deſign of landing in Ireland fruſtrated.

A. D. 1736. IN the Britiſh Parliament Mr. Pulteney introduced a motion, for to addreſs his majeſty to ſettle one hundred thouſand pounds a year, on the Prince of Wales. He repreſented that ſuch a ſettlement was both reaſonable and neceſſary, to maintain the independency of the heir apparent to the crown, and that a ſimilar one had been enjoyed by his preſent majeſty, during the life of his father.

THIS

THIS motion was the ſubject of no ſmall contention; and was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Walpole, as an encroachment on the prerogative; as an officious intermeddling in the king's affairs, and as an effort to ſet his majeſty and the prince at variance. But a miſunderſtanding had already taken place in the royal family.

WALPOLE informed the houſe, that his majeſty, in order to prevent any bad conſequences that might reſult from any undutiful meaſure, the prince might be adviſed to purſue; would ſettle a ſuitable jointure on the Princeſs of Wales; and that in order to render the prince's allowance of fifty thouſand pounds a year, leſs precarious, he would grant to the Prince of Wales, the ſaid fifty thouſand pounds a year during his own life, excluſive of the prince's revenues ariſing from the duchy of Cornwall. Walpole endeavoured to demonſtrate that this proviſion was as much as the king could afford for the prince's ſupport and maintenance; and he largely expatiated on the dangerous conſequences that might enſue, if the ſon ſhould be rendered altogether independent of the father.

THE

The ſupporters of the motion obſerved, that the allowance was totally inadequate to defray the prince's yearly expence, without one ſhilling for acts of either charity or munificence; but after a warm and long debate, the motion was rejected.

While the continent of Europe, and the iſles of America, were expoſed to the ravages of war, and ſubjected to the viciſſitudes of fortune, Great Britain was threatened with a dangerous convulſion in the internal departments of the ſtate. The ſon of the Chevalier de St. George, fired with ambition, and animated with the hope of aſcending the throne of his anceſtors, reſolved to make an effort for that purpoſe. The time he choſe for exciting an inteſtine commotion in Great Britain, was extremely favourable to his views.

A. D. 1745. Scotland was quite unfurniſhed with troops, and in many places diſaffected; the Jacobites were numerous in England; King George was in Germany; and the Duke of Cumberland at the head of the Engliſh army was employed in

in Flanders. At this juncture, the young Pretender landed in Scotland, but without either money or forces; however, in a ſhort time, he was joined by a conſiderable number of Highlanders, under their reſpective chiefs. England was now completely alarmed.

The lords of the regency iſſued a proclamation, offering a reward of thirty thouſand pounds, to any perſon who ſhould apprehend the Prince adventurer; and a courier was diſpatched to Holland, to haſten the return of his majeſty, who arrived in England about the end Auguſt, in this year. Bodies of volunteers were incorporated in London, and many other places; aſſociations were formed, and large contributions were raiſed in different towns, counties and communities, and the moſt vigorous preparations were made throughout the nation.

The proteſtant clergy of all denominations exerted their utmoſt ardour in preaching againſt the popiſh religion and the Pretender; and the friends of the government were encouraged, animated and confirmed

in their principles, by ſeveral ſpiritual productions publiſhed on the occaſion. In a word, the maſs of the people ſeemed unanimouſly bent upon oppoſing the Pretender, who nevertheleſs, had already made ſurpriſing progreſs.

His arrival in Scotland was no ſooner confirmed, than, Sir John Cope, who commanded the troops in that Kingdom, aſſembled what force he could collect together, and advanced againſt the rebels. By this time, the young Pretender had poſſeſſed himſelf of Edinburgh, where he cauſed his father to be proclaimed, and alſo publiſhed a manifeſto, in which he was appointed by his father, regent of his dominions.

During theſe tranſactions General Cope advanced to Edinburgh, to give the enemy battle. But the young Pretender engaged him at Preſton-Pans, and gained a complete victory over him. From this victory the Pretender derived manifold and important advantages: his followers were armed, his party encouraged, and his enemies intimidated.

But

But he was not yet in a condition to take advantage of that conſternation which his late ſucceſs had diffuſed throughout the nation. While the Pretender endeavoured to improve the advantages he had acquired, Great Britain took every poſſible meaſure to check his progreſs. Immediately after the opening of the Britiſh parliament, the Duke of Cumberland arrived from the Netherlands. The trained bands of London were reviewed by his majeſty: the county regiments were completed; the volunteers induſtriouſly applied themſelves to the uſe and exerciſe of arms; and the whole Engliſh nation ſeemed to riſe up as one man againſt this formidable invader. The young Pretender having muſtered a numerous army, made a ſally into England, and inveſted Carliſle, which in three days ſurrendered. Here he found a conſiderable ſtore of arms; and his father was proclaimed king of Great Britain, and himſelf declared regent, by the magiſtrates, in their formalities. From thence he marched within one hundred miles of the capital, which was now filled with the utmoſt terror and conſternation.

This ſtate of ſuſpenſe was of ſhort duration. The young Pretender had now advanced into the middle of the kingdom and not a ſoul appeared in his behalf; he therefore determined to retire to Scotland, and this young adventurer effected a retreat thither, perhaps as ſurpriſing as any that ever was performed. But the moſt remarkable circumſtance of this expedition, was the moderation and regularity with which theſe ferocious troops conducted themſelves in a country abounding with plunder. No violence was offered; no outrage committed; and they were effectually reſtrained from the exerciſe of rapine. Notwithſtanding the exceſſive cold, the hunger and fatigue to which they muſt have been expoſed, they left behind them no ſick, and loſt only a few ſtragglers; they retired with deliberation and carried off their cannon in the face of their enemy. After this the Pretender routed and defeated general Hawley at Falkirk, the greateſt part of whoſe troops fled in the utmoſt conſternation. General Hawley having boaſted, that with two regiments of dragoons he would drive the rebel army from one end of the kingdom to the other, incurred

incurred abundance of cenſure for the diſpoſition he made, as well as for his conduct before and after the action; and the Duke of Cumberland was choſen to take the command of the army in Scotland.

THE Duke put himſelf immediately at the head of the forces, and on the ſixteenth of April, in the year 1746, he came up to the rebels on Culloden Moor, and in leſs than thirty minutes he totally defeated the Pretender's entire army.

A. D. 1746. HOWEVER the glory of the victory was ſullied by the barbarity of the ſoldiers. They had been provoked by their former diſgraces to the moſt ſavage thirſt of revenge. Not content with the blood which was ſhed in the heat of action, they traverſed the field, after the enemye's defeat and maſſacred thoſe miſerable wretches who lay maimed and expiring; nay ſome officers acted a ſanguinary part in this cruel ſcene of aſſaſſination: it was the triumph of low illiberal minds, uninſpired by ſenti-

ment, untinctured by humanity. Thus, in one ſhort hour all the young adventurer's hopes were extinguiſhed and the rebellion completely cruſhed..

The Pretender diſmiſſed his followers and wandered about, a wretched and ſolitary fugitive, among the iſles and mountains, for the ſpace of five months, and underwent ſuch a ſeries of dangers, hardſhips, and miſery, as probably no other perſon ever outlived. In the month of May the Duke of Cumberland ſent detachments off on all hands to hunt down the fugitives, and deſolate the country with fire and ſword. They plundered and burned every houſe, hut and habitation, they met with, without diſtinction; they carried off all the cattle and proviſions. The men were either ſhot on the mountains like wild beaſts, or put to death in cold blood without form of trial: the women, after having ſeen their huſbands and fathers murdered, were ſubjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked, with their children, to ſtarve on the barren heath. One whole family was encloſed in a barn and conſumed to aſhes. So alert were theſe miniſters of vengeance in the execution of their abominable

abominable office, that in the courſe of a few days there was neither houſe, cottage, man nor beaſt to be ſeen in the compaſs of fifty miles; all was ruin, ſilence, and deſolation.

The humane reader cannot reflect upon ſuch a ſcene, without being impreſſed with the deepeſt ſenſe of grief and horror; but what muſt have been the ſenſations of the fugitive prince, when he beheld theſe deplorable monuments of woe, and conſidered them the melancholy fruits of his ambition? He was now ſurrounded by armed troops, who chaſed him from hill to dale, from rock to cavern, and from ſhore to ſhore. At times he lurked in caves and cottages, without attendants, or any other ſupport but that which the pooreſt peaſant could ſupply. Sometimes he was rowed in fiſhing-boats from iſle to iſle, among the Hebrides and often in ſight of his purſuers. For ſome days, he aſſumed woman's attire, and even paſſed through the midſt of his enemies unknown; but underſtanding his diſguiſe was diſcover-ed, he put on the habit of a travelling mountaineer, and wandered about among the woods and bogs with a matted beard and

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ſqualid looks, expoſed to hunger, thirſt and fatigue, and in conſtant apprehenſions of being taken by his enemy. He was obliged to commit his life to the fidelity of more than fifty individuals, and moſt of theſe in the loweſt walks of life; who knew that a price of thirty thouſand pounds was ſet upon his head; and that by betraying him, they ſhould enjoy wealth and affluence; but they abhorred the idea of obtaining riches on ſuch infamous terms, and ſupplied his neceſſities with fidelity and zeal, even at the riſk of their own ruin.

In the courſe of theſe peregrinations he was more than once ſurrounded by his purſuers, in ſuch a manner as appeared to preclude all hope of eſcape; yet he never abandoned himſelf to deſpair, nor was he ever deprived of recollection or preſence of mind. He ſtill found ſome expedient that reſcued him from captivity and death; and during the whole courſe of his woes and diſtreſs, he preſerved the moſt aſtoniſhing equanimity of mind, and uniformity of temper. At length he was conveyed to France in a privateer of St. Maloes,

St. Maloes, hired by ſome of his Iriſh adherents for that purpoſe. Although it has been the practice of England, to hold out Ir land, as a land of turbulence and commotion; yet, ſince the revolution, and the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Brunſwick, the Iriſh have demeaned themſelves in a manner that reflects the greateſt credit on themſelves and their country, and this at a period when they ſuffered ſeverely, and had frequent cauſe of complaint againſt the ſifter nation.

The Iriſh nation in general were no way implicated in this and the preceding rebellion if we except a few individuals who intereſted themſelves in the fate of this unfortunate adventurer.

The rebellion being quelled, the Britiſh legiſlature reſolved to make examples of thoſe who had been concerned in diſturbing the peace of their country. An act of attainder paſſed againſt the principal perſons who had embarked in this deſperate undertaking, and courts were opened in different parts of England for the trial of the priſoners. Upwards of

of one hundred and fifty were executed as traitors; and the Earls of Kilmarnock, Balmerino, Derwentwater, and Lovat, were beheaded on Tower Hill.

The peace of Aix La Chapelle put a period to a war, which in a great meaſure, nurſed this rebellion; and with the war, terminated the hopes of the Pretender to the crown of Great Britain: for after the concluſion of this treaty, the French King promiſed that Charles Edward Stuart ſhould quit his dominions. An ordinance of the French court paſſed to that effect, which the Pretender not complying with, was ſeized by a guard of French ſoldiers, by whom he was detained until he obeyed the ordinance; thus only were peace and tranquility reſtored to the Britiſh dominions, and war ceaſed all over Europe. The treaty of Aix, however unſtable or inglorious it might appear to thoſe few who underſtood the intereſts, and felt for the honour of their country, was nevertheleſs not unwelcome to the nation in general.

The

THE Engliſh miniſtry will always find it more difficult to ſatisfy the people at the concluſion of a ſucceſsful campaign, than at the end of an unfortunate war. The Engliſh are impatient of miſcarriages and diſappointment, and too apt to be intoxicated with victory. At this time they were wearied of the burthens; and ſick of the diſgraces, to which they had been expoſed, during ſeven tedious campaigns. They had ſuffered great loſſes, and their commerce, the chief ſource of their opulence being interrupted; they were convinced it would be fettered and clogged with additional duties, for the ſupport of a continental war, and that of foreign ſubſidiaries; and they drew weak hopes of future ſucceſs, either from the conduct of their allies, or from the capacity of their commanders. To a people influenced by theſe conſiderations, the reſtoration of a free trade, the reſpite from that anxiety and apprehenſion which the proſecution of a war never fails to excite, and the proſpect of a ſpeedy deliverance from oppreſſive impoſitions, were advantages that ſweetened the bitter draught of a diſhonourable treaty,

and

and induced the nation to acquieſce in the peace, not barely without murmuring, but even with ſome degree of ſatisfaction and applauſe. Some time after, an event happened, which overwhelmed the people with grief and conſternation.

A. D. 1750 His Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, was ſeized with a pleuretic diſorder; and after a ſhort illneſs expired, on the twentieth day of March, to the unſpeakable affliction of his Royal Conſort, and the ſincere and unfeigned ſorrow of all who wiſhed well to their country. This excellent prince, who now died in the forty-fifth year of his age, was poſſeſſed of every amiable quality which could engage the affections of the nation: a tender and obliging huſband, a fond parent, a kind maſter, liberal, generous, candid and humane, a munificent patron of the arts, an unwearied friend to merit; well diſpoſed to aſſert the rights of mankind in general, and warmly attached to the intereſts of Great Britain.

THE nation could not but be afflicted at ſeeing a prince of ſuch expectations raviſhed from their hopes; and their grief was the better founded, as the king was already advanced to a mature age, and the heir apparent, George, now Prince of Wales was a minor. His majeſty, foreſeeing the inconveniencies that might reſult from a minority, reſolved to ſecure the ſucceſſion by a parliamentary ſanction. A bill accordingly paſſed, whereby it was enacted, that when the imperial crown ſhould deſcend to any of the late prince's ſons, being under the age of eighteen years, his mother the Princeſs Dowager of Wales, ſhould be guardian of his perſon, and regent of the Britiſh dominions, until he ſhould arrive at the age of majority, with certain powers and limitations as were thought neceſſary and expedient.

ONE of the moſt remarkable acts which paſſed in this ſeſſion in the Britiſh parliament, was that for regulating the commencement of the year, and correcting the calendar according to the Gregorian computation, which had been adopted by all the other nations in Europe. Almoſt every day ſince the conclu-

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ſion of the war, exhibited freſh inſtances of robbery and rapine, the undoubted conſequences of the reduction of the army and navy; perjury, fraud and circumvention were univerſally predominant in Great Britain, and the nation diſplayed a moſt aſtoniſhing jumble of virtue and vice, honour and infamy, compaſſion and obduracy, ſentiment and brutality.

The ſuburbs of the metropolis abounded with a vaſt number of public houſes, which perpetually reſounded with the noiſe of riot and intemperance; they were the receptacles of idleneſs, fraud and rapine; and the ſeminaries of drunkenneſs, debauchery, extravagance, and every ſpecies of vice incident to human nature. An act of the legiſlature for the ſuppreſſion of theſe infernal haunts, was not attended with the deſired effects. The magiſtrates were inveſted with the power of granting or refuſing licences, but numbers of them to the reproach of government, were men of profligate lives, needy, ignorant, and rapacious, who often acted from the moſt infamous, and ſcandalous principles of ſelfiſh avarice.

The

The practice of clandeſtine marriages was now prevalent to the higheſt degree. The ſons and daughters of reſpectable families, before they had attained the years of diſcretion, were ſeduced in their affections, and decoyed into connexions, replete with infamy and ruin; and theſe were very much facilitated by the opportunities that occurred, of being inſtantaneouſly united by the ceremony of marriage, in the firſt tranſport of paſſion, before the devoted victim had time to cool or deliberate on the ſubject. For this purpoſe there was a band of profligate miſcreants, the refuſe of the clergy, dead to every ſentiment of virtue, abandoned to all ſenſe of decency and decorum, indeed the very outcaſts of ſociety, who plied like porters for employment, and performed the ceremony of marriage, without either licenſe or queſtion, in cellars, garrets, and ale houſes—to the ſcandal of religion, and the diſgrace of that venerable and reſpectable function which they profaned by profeſſing. The eaſe with which this eccleſiaſtical ſanction was obtained, and the vicious diſpoſition of thoſe wretches, open to the practice of fraud and

corruption,

corruption, were productive of polygamy, indigence, conjugal infidelity, proſtitution, and every curſe that could embitter the marriage ſtate. The legiſlature enacted a law to reſtrain and prevent theſe abuſes—but it had been found ineffectual, as it may eaſily be eluded by a pleaſant voyage to the continent, or a ſhort journey to North Britain, where the indiſſoluble knot may be tied without ſcruple or interruption.

A. D. 1754. In the beginning of this year violent diſputes aroſe between the government and the commons of Ireland, of the almoſt forgotten ſubjects of privilege and prerogative. The commons conceived they had an undoubted right to apply the ſurplus of the revenue, towards national purpoſes; without the conſent of their ſovereign, and accordingly, in the year one thouſand, ſeven hundred and forty nine, prepared a bill with this preamble "Where-" as, on the 25th of March laſt, a conſidera-" ble balance remained in the hands of the " vice treaſurer, or receivers general of the " Kingdom, or their deputy or deputies, un-" applied,

" applied; and it will be for your majeſty's " ſervice, and for the eaſe of your faithful " ſubjects in Ireland, that ſo much thereof " as can be conveniently ſpared, ſhould be " paid agreeably to your majeſty's moſt gra- " cious intentions, in diſcharge of a part of " the national debt."

This appropriation gave great offence to the advocates for prerogative in England, who affirmed, the commons had no right to apply any part of the unappropriated revenue, nor even to take any ſuch affair into conſideration, without the previous conſent of the crown, expreſſed in the moſt explicit terms. It was in conſequence of this doctrine, that the Duke of Dorſet, then Lord Lieutenant, informed them in the next ſeſſion of parliament, held in the year 1751, that he was commanded by the King to acquaint them, that his majeſty, ever attentive to the eaſe and happineſs of his ſubjects, would graciouſly conſent, and recommended it to them, that ſuch part of the money then remaining in his treaſury, as ſhould be thought conſiſtent

with the public ſervice, be applied towards the further reduction of the national debt.

A. D. 1754. This declaration alarmed the commons, zealous as they were for the preſervation of their privileges; and in their addreſſes which uſed always to echo back the words of the ſpeech, they made no mention of his majeſty's conſent; but only acknowledged his gracious attention to their eaſe and happineſs, in recommending to them the application of the ſurplus. They, accordingly, reſolved to apply one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds of that ſurplus, towards a diſcharge of the national debt; and in the preamble of the bill, framed for this purpoſe, made no mention of his majeſty's conſent, though they previouſly had acknowledged his goodneſs in recommending this application.

The Engliſh miniſtry was highly offended at this propoſed omiſſion, which they conſtrued into a wilful encroachment on the prerogative; and the bill was ſent back with an alteration in the preamble, ſignifying his majeſty's

jeſty's conſent, as well as recommendation. The Iriſh houſe of commons, being at that time deeply engaged in a minute enquiry into the conduct of a gentleman, a ſervant of the crown, and a member of their own houſe, accuſed of having miſapplied a large ſum of money, with which he had been entruſted for rebuilding and repairing barracks, were now unwilling to embroil themſelves further with government, until this affair ſhould be diſcuſſed: they therefore paſſed the bill with the alteration, and proceeded with their enquiry. The member having been convicted of a miſapplication of the public money, and obliged to make reparation at his own expence; the commons did not neglect to aſſert their rights and privileges when the next opportunity occurred.

The Duke of Dorſet, when he opened the ſeſſion of this year, repeated the expreſſion of his majeſty's gracious conſent, in mentioning the ſurplus of the public money. They again omitted that word in their addreſs, and reſolved in their bill of application, not only to ſink that odious term, but likewiſe to

abate in their complaiſance, by omitting that expreſſion of grateful acknowledgements, which had met with ſuch a cold reception above.

By this time the conteſt had kindled up two factions and diffuſed a general ſpirit of reſentment through the whole nation. The committee who prepared the bill, inſtead of inſerting the uſual compliments in the preamble, mentioned nothing but a recital of facts, and ſent it over in a very plain dreſs, altogether deſtitute of all embroidery. The miniſtry intent upon vindicating the prerogative filled up the omiſſions of the committee, and ſent it back with this alteration. "And your majeſty, ever attentive to the eaſe and happineſs of your faithful ſubjects, has been graciouſly pleaſed to ſignify, that you would conſent and recommend it to us, that ſo much of the money remaining in your majeſty's treaſury as ſhould be neceſſary, be applied to the diſcharge of the national debt, or ſuch part thereof as ſhould be thought expedient by parliament."

This then being the criſis which was to determine a conſtitutional point of ſo much national moment, namely, whether the people in

in parliament aſſembled, have a right to deliberate upon, and vote the application of any part of the unappropriated revenue without the previous conſent of the crown, ſuch members as were moſt zealouſly attached to the liberties of Ireland, exerted themſelves moſt ſtrenuouſly in oppoſing what was a violation of thoſe liberties, and the bill with its alterations was rejected by a majority of five voices. This ſucceſs was celebrated throughout the nation with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy, as the triumph of patriotiſm, over the arts of miniſterial corruption; and all the ſervants of the crown, who had joined the popular ſide on this occaſion, were in a little time diſmiſſed from their employments. But the rejection of the bill was a great diſappointment to the public creditors, and the circulation of caſh was almoſt ſtagnated.

These calamities were juſtly aſcribed to arbitrary deſigns in the government; and the nation began to be inſpired with an enthuſiaſtic ſpirit of independency, which might have produced alarming effects, had not government artfully brought over the demagogues, and thus diverted the ſtream of popu-

lar clamour from government to thoſe very individuals who had been the idols of popular veneration. The ſpeaker of the houſe of commons was promoted to the dignity of an Earl; and ſome other patriots were gratified with lucrative employments. His majeſty's letter arrived for paying off ſeventy five thouſand pounds of the national debt, the circualtion was thus animated, and the indignation of the people ſubſiding, the nation recovered its former tranquillity.

A. D. 1755. DURING this period, the public was overwhelmed with conſternation by the tidings of a tremendous earthquake, which on the firſt of November, ſhook all Spain and Portugal and many other places in Europe, and laid the city of Liſbon in ruins. The two firſt ſhocks of this dreadful viſitation continued near a quarter of an hour; the water of the river Tagus roſe perpendicularly upwards of twenty feet, and ſubſided to its natural bed in leſs than a minute; great numbers of houſes, of which this city then contained about thirty ſix thouſand, were thrown down by the repeated concuſſions of the earth, together with ſeveral magnificent

nificent churches, monaſteries, and public edifices. But what entirely completed the deſtruction of this then moſt opulent capital of the Portugueze dominions, was, a devouring conflagration, partly fortuitous, but chiefly occaſioned by a ſet of impious villains, who unawed at the tremendous ſcene before them, with unparalleled wickedneſs ſet fire to the falling edifices in different parts of the city, to encreaſe the general confuſion, that they might have the better opportunity to rob and plunder their already forlorn and deſolate fellow citizens. Out of theſe hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, which Liſbon was then ſuppoſed to contain, about ten thouſand periſhed by this calamity; and the ſurvivors deprived of their habitations, and deſtitute even of the neceſſaries of life, were obliged to ſeek for ſhelter in the open fields.

To the honour of Britiſh and Iriſh humanity, a conſiderable quantity of proviſions, and a large ſum of money was ſent to the relief of the miſerable ſufferers who were now in actual want of the neceſſaries of life.

THE inteſtine broils of Ireland were this year happily compoſed, by the prudent management of the Marquis of Hartington then viceroy. His ſteady and firm conduct, his candour and humanity, together with the excellent laws which he encouraged and were paſſed for the benefit of the nation, allayed in a great meaſure the diſſentions and ferments which before exiſted among the Iriſh, yet this was not altogether effected without a large portion of bribery and corruption.

OF all the tranſactions during the reign of George II. the execution of Admiral Byng was the moſt infamous. He was generally eſteemed one of the beſt officers in the navy, when he embarked in that expedition to Minorca, which covered his character with diſgrace, and expoſed his life to all the horrors of an ignominious death. Admiral Byng was put to death to the ſurprize of all Europe, who, whatever were the nature of his errors and indiſcretions, ſeems to have been raſhly condemned and cruelly ſacrificed to the baſeſt of purpoſes.

NOTWITH

A. D. 1757. NOTWITHSTANDING all that has been ſaid in his favour, notwithſtanding the infamous arts practiſed to keep up the cry againſt him, notwithſtanding his ſolemn appeal to heaven in his laſt moments, and even the ſtrongeſt apparent ſelf conviction of his innocence; the character of Admiral Byng, in point of perſonal courage, will ſtill in the minds of many remain problematical; while others, will remain firm of belief, that if the ſpirit of a Britiſh admiral had been properly exerted, the French fleet would have been defeated, and Minorca relieved. A man's opinion of danger varies at different times, in conſequence of an irregular tide of animal ſpirits, and he is often actuated by conſiderations which he dares not avow.

WHEN an officer thus influenced, has heſitated in the hour of trial, the mind eager for its own juſtification, collects with ſurprizing induſtry every favourable circumſtance of excuſe, and broods over them with parental partiality. Whatever Admiral Byng's feelings might have been; as the tribunal before which he was tried, acquitted him expreſsly of cowardice and diſaffection, and ſtrongly recommended

recommended him as an object of mercy; in ſuch caſe he was thought a fit ſubject for the royal clemency, and ſo impartial hiſtory will judge him, after all thoſe diſhonourable motives of faction and of fear, by which his fate was influenced, ſhall be loſt in oblivion, or remembered with diſdain.

If we turn our eyes to the Continent of Europe, we will ſee the commencement of the year marked with a ſtriking inſtance of the dreadful effects of frantic enthuſiaſm. France had long enjoyed a monarch, eaſy, complying, goodnatured and averſe from all that wore the appearance of buſineſs or of war. Satisfied with the pleaſures of indolence, he ſought no greatneſs beyond what he enjoyed, nor purſued any ambitious aim through the dictates of his own diſpoſition. Of all men living, ſuch a prince had the beſt reaſon to expect an exemption from plots againſt his perſon, and cabals among his people; yet was an attempt made on his life, by a man, who though placed in the loweſt ſphere of fortune, had reſolution to face the greateſt dangers, and enthuſiaſm ſufficient to ſuſtain without ſhrinking,

ſhrinking, all the tortures which the cruelty of man could invent, or his crimes render neceſſary.

The name of this fanatic was Robert Francis Damien, a citizen of Arras. On the fifth of January, he ſeized the opportunity of the King's ſtepping into his coach, and ſtabbed him with a knife in the ſide. Happily the wound was not dangerous, as the knife took an oblique direction and miſſed the vital parts. Damien was inſtantly ſeized, and every refinement on cruelty that human invention could ſuggeſt, was practiſed on him, to extort a confeſſion, of the reaſons that induced him to make ſo execrable an attempt on the life of his ſovereign; but to no effect, for nothing could overcome his obſtinacy.

It is not within our province, and we conſider it as a felicity not to relate all the horrid circumſtances of this tragical event; ſuffice it to ſay, that after enduring and ſuffering the moſt exquiſite tortures that human nature could invent, or man ſupport—his judges thought proper to terminate his miſery

ſery, by a death ſhocking to imagination, and ſhameful to humanity. He was conducted to the common place of execution, ſtripped naked and faſtened to the ſcaffold. One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming ſulphur; his thighs, legs and arms were torn with red hot pincers; boiling oil, melted lead, roſin and ſulphur were poured into the wounds; tight bandages were tied around his limbs, to prepare him for diſmemberment; young and vigorous horſes were afterwards applied to the draught; and the miſerable criminal pulled with all their force to the utmoſt extention of his ſinews, for the ſpace of one hour, during which time he preſerved his ſenſes and conſtancy. At length the executioner cut the ſinews at the joints of the arms and legs; and thus after ſeveral efforts the unfortunate wretch was diſmembered, and the different lacerated and ſcattered fragments of his fleſh and limbs, were collected and reduced to aſhes: his father, wife, daughter and family baniſhed the kingdom for ever, and the name of Damien obliterated, while the innocent were implicated in the puniſhment of the guilty. Thus, ended the procedure againſt Damien and his family, in a manner diſhonourable to the reputed clemency

mency of Lewis, and exhibiting an infernal and horrid inſtance of the acknowledged inhumanity of a poliſhed Nation.

It appeared from undoubted evidence that the attempt on the king's life was the effect of inſanity and a diſturbed imagination. Several marks of a diſordered mind had previouſly been obſerved in his conduct, and the deteſtation juſtly due to the enormity of his crime, ought now to have been abſorbed in the conſideration of his misfortune, the greateſt that can befal human nature.

From ſuch horrid ſcenes we turn with pleaſure to the improvements at this period, produced in different arts and ſciences that ſeemed to promiſe much public utility. Although no Mecænas appeared among the miniſters and not the leaſt ray of patronage glimmered from the throne; yet the protection, countenance, and gratification ſecured in other countries by the inſtitutions of academies, and the liberality of princes; the learned and ingenious in theſe kingdoms derived from the generoſity of a public, endued with taſte and ſenſibility, eager for improvement and proud of patronizing

patronizing extraordinary merit. At this time ſeveral perſons invented methods of diſcovering the longitude at ſea, that great deſideratum in navigation for the completion of which ſo many nations have offered a public reward, and in the inveſtigation of which ſo many mathematical heads have been diſordered.

Some of thoſe who now appeared candidates for the prize deſerved encouragement for the ingenuity of their ſeveral ſyſtem's; but he who enjoyed the pre-eminence in the opinion and favour of the public was Mr. Irvine, an Iriſh gentleman. He contrived a chair ſo artfully poized that a perſon ſitting in it on board a ſhip even in a rough ſea, could through a teleſcope, obſerve the immerſion and emerſi- of jupiter's moons, without being interrupted or incommoded by the agitation of the ſhip.

This gentleman was countenanced by Commodore Lord Howe, in whoſe preſence the experiment was tried in ſeveral ſhips at ſea with ſuch ſucceſs, that Lord Howe granted him a certificate, ſignifying his approbation; and in conſequence, Mr. Irvine obtained a conſiderable reward from the board of admi-

ralty

ralty. The Prince of Wales now having compleated the twenty firſt year of his age, the anniverſary of his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings at court, and the king received compliments of congratulation on the majority of a prince, who ſeemed born to fulfil the hopes and complete the happineſs of Great Britain. Addreſſes and congratulations were on this occaſion preſented from all parts of the kingdom to his majeſty, replete with ſentiments of loyalty and affection, and no trace of diſaffection was at this time perceivable in any part of the empire.

The uſurpations and encroachments of the French on the Britiſh territories in America were the cauſe of a freſh war between Great Britain and France. The Britiſh ſubjects conſidering the French their inveterate and natural enemies, as well as the incendiaries of all Europe, eagerly approved of the war and chearfully contributed to a vigorous proſecution of it. The French with a view to embarraſs the Britiſh miniſtry and direct their attention from all external expeditions, had projected a plan for invading ſome part of the Britiſh dominions; and they now actually began to make preparations

porations in different parts of their courts for carrying this deſign into execution.

The Engliſh miniſtry adopted every precautionary meaſure, but wiſely placed their chief dependence upon the ſtrength of the navy, part of which was ſo ſtationed and divided as to block up all the harbours in France, in which the enemy were known to make any naval armament of any conſequence.

The French prepared a conſiderable fleet in the harbours of Rochfort and Breaſt under the command of Mon. De Conflans, and reinforced by a large body of troops under the Duc D'Aiguillon. Flat boats and tranſports for their intended expedition, were prepared in different ports on the coaſt of France; and a ſmall ſquadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterprizing adventurer called Thurot, who in the courſe of the preceding year had ſignalized his courage and conduct in a large privateer called the Belliſle which had ſcoured the north ſeas, and made many captures. Thurot's name became a terror to the merchants of Great Britain

tain; for his valour was not more remarkable in battle, than his dexterity in eluding the Britiſh cruiſers. It muſt be likewiſe owned, for the honour of human nature, that this bold mariner, though deſtitute of the advantages of birth and education, was greatly diſtinguiſhed by his generoſity and compaſſion to thoſe who had the misfortune to fall into his hands; and that his deportment in every reſpect entitled him to a much more honourable rank in the ſervice of his country. The court of Verſailles was not ignorant of his merit. He received a commiſſion from the French King, and was entruſted with the command of a ſmall armament then fitting out in the harbour of Dunkirk.

A. D. 1759. The Britiſh government being apprized of theſe particulars, took ſuch meaſures to defeat this intended invaſion, as muſt have conveyed a very high idea of the power of Great Britain to thoſe, who conſidered that, excluſive of the force oppoſed to his deſign, they at the ſame time, carried on moſt vigorous and important operations of war, in Germany, America, the Eaſt and Weſt Indies.

THUROT's armament at Dunkirk was watched by an Engliſh ſquadron under commodore Boyce, and the whole court of France was ſo guarded by different ſquadrons of the Britiſh fleet, as to reſemble an actual blockade. The French miniſtry being thus hampered, forbore their attempts upon Britain, and the projected invaſion was for ſome time ſuſpended. But the French army being defeated by the Britiſh at Minden, and all their deſigns having been baffled in Germany, they at length determined to try their fortune in a deſcent, and they now propoſed to land a body of troops in Ireland.

THUROT received orders to ſail from Dunkirk with the firſt opportunity, and ſteer his courſe around the north of Scotland, that he might alarm the coaſt of Ireland, and make a diverſion from that part where the French Admiral Conflans deſigned to ſend his forces.

THE tranſports and ſhips of war, were aſſembled at Breſt, and Rochfort; having on board, a train of artilery, with ſaddles and other accoutrements for cavalry, to be mounted in Ireland; and a body of French troops

troops, including part of the Iriſh brigade was kept in readineſs to embark. The execution of this ſcheme, was however prevented, by the vigilance and valour of the Britiſh admiral Sir Edward Hawke, who routed and defeated the French fleet under Admiral Conflans; in a memorable engagement, which may be conſidered as one of the moſt perilous and important, that ever happened in any war between the two nations, for it not only fruſtrated the projected invaſion, but gave the finiſhing blow to the naval power of France, which was totally diſabled from undertaking any thing of moment in the ſequel. The alarm of the French invaſion thus happily fruſtrated, not only diſturbed the quiet of Britain, but infuſed terror into Ireland. In the latter end of October, the Iriſh parliament aſſembled, and received a formal meſſage from the Duke of Bedford, who was then lord lieutenant, to the following effect: That, by a letter from the ſecretary of ſtate, written by his majeſty's expreſs commands, it appeared that France far from abandoning the deſign of invaſion on account of the late diſaſter, was more and more confirmed in her purpoſe, and that in all proba-

bility, Ireland would be one of their chief objects; his grace thought it therefore incumbent on him, in a matter of ſuch importance to the welfare of Ireland, to communicate this intelligence to the Iriſh parliament. He told them his majeſty would make no doubt but that the zeal of his faithful proteſtant ſubjects, had been already ſufficiently quickened, by the repeated accounts received of the enemy's dangerous deſigns and actual preparations.

He gave them to underſtand he had received his majeſty's commands, to animate and excite his loyal people of Ireland, to exert their well known zeal and ſpirit in ſupport of his government, and in defence of all that was dear to them, by a timely preparation to oppoſe and fruſtrate any hoſtile attempt to diſturb the peace and unhinge the ſecurity of the nation. He therefore in the ſtrongeſt terms, recommended to them to evince on this occaſion, that zeal for the preſent happy conſtitution, and that affection for his majeſty's perſon and government, by which the Iriſh parliament had been ſo often diſtinguiſhed on ſeveral trying emergencies.

As

As ſoon as this meſſage was communicated, the houſe of commons unanimouſly reſolved, to preſent an addreſs to the lord lieutenant, thanking his grace for the care and concern he had manifeſted for the ſafety of Ireland, in communicating intelligence of ſo great moment; deſiring him in the mean while to adopt ſuch meaſures as ſhould appear to him the moſt effectual, for the ſecurity and defence of the nation; and aſſuring him, that the houſe would make good whatever expence ſhould be neceſſarily incurred for that purpoſe. This intimation and the meaſures that were taken in purſuance of it for the defence of the kingdom, produced ſuch alarms and diſtractions, throughout the nation as well nigh annihilated the public credit.

In the firſt tranſports of fear and apprehenſion, there was ſo great a run on the Dublin banks, that ſeveral eminent bankers were obliged to ſtop payment; and the circulation was in danger of being deſtroyed; when the lord lieutenant, the members of both houſes of parliament, the lord mayor, aldermen, merchants and principal traders of Dublin, entered into an aſſociation in ſupport of public credit, by

taking the notes of bankers in payment; a reſolution that fully anſwered the purpoſe intended.

HOWEVER the French might have flattered themſelves, that their invading army would be joined in Ireland by a number of the natives, in this hope, they would unqueſtionably have been diſappointed, for at this juncture, no ſigns of diſaffection appeared in any quarter of the kingdom. On the contrary, the opulent individuals of the catholic perſuaſion, offered to furniſh government with conſiderable ſums of money, in caſe of neceſſity, to maintain the preſent eſtabliſhment againſt all its enemies; and the catholics of the city of Cork, and moſt of that perſuaſion in the kingdom, preſented addreſſes to the lord lieutenant, expreſſing their loyalty and attachment to his majeſty's perſon, and government. They congratulated his grace on the unparalleled ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms, and expreſſed their warm ſenſe of the king's paternal tenderneſs for his kingdom of Ireland, while they acknowledged with gratitude, the protection and indulgence they had enjoyed under his majeſty's auſpicious reign.

THEY

THEY expreſſed the warmeſt indignation, at the projected invaſion of the kingdom, by an enemy grown deſperate by defeats, who might poſſibly make that attempt as a laſt effort; buoyed up perhaps with the imaginary hope of aſſiſtance in Ireland, from the former attachment of their deluded predeceſſors.

A. D. 1759. THEY aſſured his grace, in the moſt ſolemn manner, that ſuch deſigns were altogether incompatible with their principles and intentions; that they would to the utmoſt exertion of their abilities, and with their lives and fortunes, join in the defence and ſupport of his majeſty's royal perſon and government againſt all invaders whatſoever; that they ſhould be always ready to concur in ſuch meaſures, and to act ſuch parts in defence of the Kingdom, in conjunction with the reſt of his Majeſty's ſubjects, as his Grace in his wiſdom ſhould be pleaſed to appoint; and thought themſelves particularly happy to be under the direction and command of ſo well known an aſſertor of liberty, or ſo important and diſtinguiſhed a governor.

FINALLY,

FINALLY, they expreſſed the moſt earneſt wiſh, that his Majeſty's arms might be crowned with ſuch a continuance of ſucceſs, as might enable him to defeat the devices of all his enemies, and obtain a ſpeedy and honourable peace. Many of theſe cordial addreſſes, that from Cork in particular, were tranſmitted to the Earl of Shannon, and preſented by his Lordſhip to the Duke of Bedford. At ſo critical a juncture; theſe ſentiments were as pleaſing to the government as they were honourable to the catholics.

No traces of diſaffection to his majeſty's perſon, appeared at this period in Ireland; yet a violent commotion of the populace broke out in the City of Dublin. The Duke was by no means popular in his adminiſtration. He had beſtowed a place of conſiderable importance on a man, who was extremely obnoxious to many perſons in the Kingdom, and his grace was deficient in that affability and complacency which a free and hoſpitable nation expects to find in the characters of their chief governors. The Iriſh in general, were highly offended at his deportment.

deportment, and with juſtice began to entertain doubts and jealouſies of certain machinations in the government; while apprehenſions were conceived; that his excellency wiſhed to effect an union between Great Britain and Ireland. This opinion was propagated among the populace with much induſtry. They were informed, that a plan, was determined on by government, to deprive Ireland of her parliament and independence, and to ſubject her to the ſame taxes which were levied on the people of Great Britain.

This report inflamed the populace to ſuch a degree, that they aſſembled in immenſe crowds around the parliament houſe, broke into the houſe of lords, inſulted the peers, ſeated an old woman on the throne, and ſearched for the journals, which they would have committed to the flames, had they been found. They then obliged ſuch members of both houſes as they met in the ſtreets, to take an oath that they would never conſent to an union, or give any vote contrary to the real intereſt of Ireland. A body of horſe and infantry, were drawn

out

out on this occaſion to intimidate the mob, which in the evening diſperſed of itſelf. Addreſſes were next day agreed to, by both houſes of parliament, and a committee of enquiry appointed, that the ringleaders of the commotion might be diſcovered, and brought to condign puniſhment.

When the Britiſh court heard that Thurot had eſcaped from Dunkirk, with a ſmall ſquadron of armed ſhips, having on board a body of land troops, deſigned for a private expedition on the coaſt of Scotland or Ireland, expreſſes were immediately diſpatched to the commanding officers, in Scotland, to put the forts along that coaſt in the beſt ſtate of defence, and to hold every thing in readineſs to repel the enemy, in caſe they ſhould attempt a deſcent. The greateſt encomium that can be paid the character of Thurot, is an account of the alarm which his puny army in a moment ſpread through the whole extent of the Britiſh dominions, whoſe fleets at that time covered the ocean. Perhaps Thurot's career would have been ſooner ſtopped, had Commodore Boyce been victualled

tualled for a longer cruiſe; but he was obliged to put into Leith, for a ſupply of proviſions; at the very time when Thurot was ſeen hovering on the coaſts of Scotland: and before the Engliſh ſquadron was provided for a proſecution of the cruiſe, Thurot had taken ſhelter at Gottenburgh, in Sweden.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Reduction of Canada by General Wolfe.—Thurot lands at Carrickfergus in Ireland—Defeated by Captain Elliot, and killed—The Bravery of five Irishmen and a boy, belonging to the Crew of a Waterford Ship—The Trial of Lord George Sackville—The Execution of Earl Ferrers for Murder—Death of George II.—His Character—State of Commerce—State of Religion and Philosophy—Genius not encouraged nor patronized by the Crown—The erection of numerous charitable Institutions in Dublin—The Magdalen Asylum—View of the Finances, and also of the Laws, since the Revolution—Reduction of the Interest of Money from 10 to 8 per Cent, from 8 to 7, and from 7 to 6, being the present Rate—Considerations arising from comparing our present Constitution with its ancient Model.

A. D. 1759. IF we extend our views across the Atlantic, into America, we find this year particularly distinguished by the taking of Quebec, and the reduction of Canada

Canada. At the capture of Quebec, we muſt lament the fate of the gallant Wolfe, who expired in the arms of victory. General Wolfe was a national loſs, and as ſuch univerſally regretted. He inherited from nature an animating fervour of ſentiment, an extenſive capacity, and a paſſion for glory, which ſtimulated him to acquire every kind of military knowledge, that ſtudy or actual ſervice could procure. He was brave above all ſenſe of danger; he was alſo generous, gentle and humane; a pattern to the officer, and the darling of the ſoldiers. Had his genius been exerciſed to its full extent by opportunity and action; and his judgment matured by age and experience, he would undoubtedly have rivalled in reputation, the moſt celebrated heroes of antiquity. As ſoon as the account of the victory, and ſurrender of Quebec, had reached England; all was rapture, all was triumph and exultation, blended with the praiſe of the gallant Wolfe.

The Britiſh parliament preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, requeſting he would order a monument to be erected to the memory of Major general

general Wolfe; at the ſame time they reſolved, that the thanks of the houſe ſhould be given to the ſurviving generals and admirals, employed in the glorious and ſucceſsful expedition to Quebec. Teſtimonies of this kind, while they reflect honour on the character of the nation, never fail to animate individuals to a ſpirited exertion of their talents in the ſervice of their country.

A. D. 1760. In accounting the tranſactions of the preceding year, we mentioned a ſmall armament equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of M. de Thurot, who notwithſtanding all the vigilance of Commodore Boyce, ſtationed in the Downs, to watch him, found means to eſcape from Dunkirk in the month of October, and arrived at Gottenburgh, in Sweden; from whence he proceeded to Bergen, in Norway.

His inſtructions were to make occaſional deſcents upon the coaſt of Ireland, and by dividing the troops and diſtracting the attention of the government, of the kingdom; to facilitate the enterpriſe of M. De Conflans, the

the fate of which has already been mentioned. Thurot's original armament conſiſted of five ſhips, one of which, called the Mareſchal de Belleiſle, was mounted with forty four guns; the Begon, the Blond, the Terpſichore, had thirty guns each, and the Marante carried twenty four. The number of troops put on board this little fleet, did not exceed one thouſand, two hundred and ſeventy, excluſive of mariners, to the number of ſeven hundred; but two hundred of theſe forces were ſent ſick on ſhore, before the armament ſailed from Dunkirk; and in their voyage between Gottenburgh and Bergen, they loſt company of the Begon, during a violent ſtorm. The ſeverity of the weather detained them nineteen days at Bergen, at the expiration of which, they ſet ſail for the weſtern iſlands of Scotland, and diſcovered the northern parts of Ireland, in the latter end of January.

Thurot's intention was to make a deſcent upon Derry; but before this deſign was executed, the weather growing tempeſtuous, and the wind blowing off ſhore,

Thurot

Thurot was driven out to ſea, and in the night he loſt ſight of the Marante, which never joined him after. After being tempeſt-toſt for ſome time, and expoſed to a very ſcanty allowance of proviſions, Thurot's officers requeſted him to return to France, leſt they ſhould all periſh by famine; but he did not liſten to ſuch a propoſal, and frankly told them he could not return to France without having made ſome effort for the ſervice of his country; nevertheleſs in hopes of procuring ſome refreſhment he ſteered to the iſland of Iſla, belonging to Scotland, where the troops were landed, and here they found black cattle, and a ſmall ſupply of oatmeal for which they paid a reaſonable price; and it muſt be acknowledged Thurot himſelf behaved with great moderation and generoſity.

While this ſpirited adventurer laboured under theſe wants and difficulties, his arrival in thoſe ſeas filled the whole kingdom with alarm. Bodies of regular troops and militia were ſtationed along the coaſts of Scotland and Ireland; and beſides commodore

dore Boys's ſquadron, who ſailed to the northward, on purpoſe to purſue the enemy, other ſhips of war, were ordered to ſcour the Briſtol channel, and cruiſe between Scotland and Ireland. As ſoon as the weather permitted, Thurot, to purſue his deſtination, ſailed from Iſla to the Bay of Carrickfergus, and made all the neceſſary preparations for a deſcent; which was accordingly effected with ſix hundred men, on the twenty-firſt of February. Lieutenant Colonel Jennings, who commanded four companies of raw undiſciplined men, at Carrickfergus, having been informed that three ſhips had anchored about two miles and a half from the caſtle, which was ruinous and defenceleſs, immediately detached a party to make obſervations, and ordered the French priſoners there confined, to be removed to Belfaſt. In the mean time, the enemy landed without oppoſition, and advanced towards the town, which they found as well guarded as the nature of the place, and the ſituation of the commander would allow.

A regular attack was carried on, and a ſpirited defence made; but at length Colonel

Jennings was obliged to retire to the caſtle, which, however, was in all reſpects untenable; for beſides a breach in the wall, near fifty feet wide, he found himſelf deſtitute of proviſions and ammunition. Nevertheleſs, he repulſed the aſſailants in their firſt attack, even after the gate was burſt open, and ſupplied the want of ſhot with ſtones and rubbiſh. But after a vain effort, the colonel and his troops, were conſtrained to ſurrender, on condition that they ſhould not be ſent priſoners to France, but be ranſomed by ſending thither an equal number of French priſoners from Great Britain or Ireland: that the caſtle ſhould not be demoliſhed, nor the town of Carickfergus plundered nor burned, on condition that the mayor and corporation ſhould furniſh the French troops with neceſſary proviſions. One circumſtance that attended this engagement deſerves to be tranſmitted to poſterity, as an inſtance of that courage, united with humanity, which conſtitutes true heroiſm.

While the French and Engliſh were hotly engaged in one of the ſtreets, a little child

child ran playfully between them, having no idea of the danger to which it was expoſed; a common ſoldier belonging to the French, ſeeing the life of this poor innocent at ſtake, grounded his piece, advanced deliberately between the lines of fire, took up the child in his arms, conveyed it to a place of ſafety; then returning to his place, reſumed his muſket, and renewed his hoſtility. Such inſtances of humanity do honour to man, and ought to be recorded.

Thurot after this exploit, did not advance farther into the country; a meaſure which indeed he could not have undertaken with any ſafety; for by this time a conſiderable body of regular forces was aſſembled; and the people of Ulſter manifeſted a ſpirit of loyalty and fortitude on the occaſion. They flocked in numbers to Belfaſt, to offer their ſervices to repel the invaders. Theſe circumſtances being known to Thurot, as well as the defeat of Conflans, which he had alſo learned, obliged him to reimbark with ſome precipitation, after having laid Carrickfergus under moderate contri-

bution. But the fate he eſcaped on land he ſoon met with at ſea. Captain John Elliot, who commanded three frigates at Kinſale, and had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the courſe of the war, by many acts of valour, was informed by a diſpatch from the Duke of Bedford, that three of the enemy's ſhips lay at anchor, in the bay of Carrickfergus; thither Elliot inſtantly ſteered his courſe in the ſhip Æolus, acompanied by the Pallas and Brilliant, under the command of Captains, Clements and Logie. On the twenty eight of February, they deſcried the enemy in ſight of the Iſle-of-Man, and gave them chace. About nine in the morning, Elliot in his own ſhip engaged the Belliſle, commanded by Thurot; although much his ſuperior in ſtrength of men, number of guns and weight of metal. In a ſhort time his companions were alſo engaged with Thurot's two other ſhips.

After a very hot action, maintained with great ſpirit, on all ſides for an hour and an half, Elliot's Lieutenant boarded the Belliſle, and ſtriking her colours with his own hand, ſhe

ſhe ſubmitted; the other ſhips were alſo ſoon taken, and Elliot conveyed his prizes into Ramſay Bay, in the Iſle-of-Man, in order that they might be repaired. Although the Belliſle was very leaky, and had loſt her boltſprit, miſen-maſt, and main-yard, yet the victory would not have been ſo eaſily obtained, had not the brave Thurot fallen, during the action. The victor had not even the conſolation to perform the laſt offices to his valiant enemy; for his body was thrown into the ſea, by his own men, in the hurry of the engagement. The loſs of the Britiſh did not exceed forty men, killed and wounded—whereas, above three hundred of the French were killed or diſabled.

The ſervice performed by Elliot on this occaſion, was conſidered ſo eſſential to the peace and commerce of Ireland, that the thanks of the Iriſh houſe of commons were unanimouſly voted to the victors of Thurot, as well as to Colonel Jennings, for his ſpirited conduct at Carrickfergus; and the freedom of the city of Cork, was preſented in ſilver boxes, to Captains Elliot, Clements and Logie. The

name of Thurot was become terrible to all the mercantile ſeaports of Great Britain and Ireland; wherefore, the defeat and capture of his armament were celebrated with as great and hearty rejoicings, as the moſt important victory could have produced.

It being our wiſh to omit no opportunity of doing juſtice to the valour of Iriſhmen, we preſume that the bravery of five Hibernians, and a boy, belonging to the crew of a ſhip from Waterford, merits recording The ſhip, on her return from Bilboa, laden with brandy and iron, having being taken by a French privateer off Uſhant, about the middle of April, in this year, the captors removed the maſter and all the hands, except theſe five men and the boy, who were left to aſſiſt nine French men in navigating the veſſel to France.

These brave Iriſhmen concerted a plan for their deliverance, and executed it with ſucceſs. Four of the French mariners being below decks, three aloft, among the rigging, one at the helm, and another walking the deck,

Brien

Brien who conducted the enterprise, tripped up the heels of the French steersman, seized his pistol, and discharged it at the other mariner who walked the deck, but having missed his aim, he knocked him down with the but-end of the pistol. At the same time he hollowed to his companions below, who attacked the enemy with their broad swords, and soon compelled them to submit: they then came on deck, and closed the hatches. Brien and his associates being now in possession of the quarter deck, those that were aloft called for quarters, and surrendered without opposition. The Irish men having obtained a complete victory, almost without bloodshed, and having secured the prisoners, a new difficulty occurred. Neither Brien nor his friend could read or write, nor knew any thing of navigation; but supposing his course to be North, he steered at venture, and the first land he made was contiguous to Youghal, where he happily arrived with his prisoners.

As no subject engrossed so much the conversation and passions of the public, at this time, as the case of Lord George Sackville, we shall beg leave to convey the reader to

Great

Great Britain, for the purpoſe of giving him a ſketch of his lordſhip's caſe. Lord George Sackville, had by this time reſigned his command in Germany, and returned to England, the country of all others, it would be his intereſt to ſhun, if he were really guilty of the imputation now alledged againſt his character. With the news of the battle of Minden, the defamation of this officer arrived. He was accuſed of having diſobeyed Prince Ferdinand's orders, relative to the battle of Minden, and his conduct was ſtigmatized in many particulars.

This vague charge, kindled up a blaze of indignation againſt Lord George Sackville, amongſt the people of England. Lord George, impatient of the imputation attached to his character, ſolicited to be tried by a court-marſhal, which was granted. On the trial it appeared, that ſo many contradictory orders had been iſſued by Prince Ferdinand, that Lord George could not with any certainty execute any of them, until he reſorted in perſon to the prince, to receive commands from his own lips—Theſe orders he immediately executed with as much exertion

exertion as was poſſible on ſuch an occaſion. The court-martial after hearing of evidence, gave judgment in theſe words. "The court, upon due conſideration of the whole matter before them, is of opinion, that Lord George Sackville is guilty of having diſobeyed the orders of Prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, whom he was by his commiſſion and inſtructions directed to obey as commander in chief, according to the rules of war, and it is the farther opinion of this court, that the ſaid Lord George Sackville is, and he is hereby adjudged, unfit to ſerve his majeſty in any military capacity whatſoever."

This ſentence was confirmed by the king, who to complete the diſgrace of this unfortunate general, in council, called for the council book and ſtruck the name of Lord George Sackville out of the liſt of privy counſellors.

The people of Great Britain, naturally impatient and clamorous have been too much indulged with court martials and diſmiſſion, which tend only to render their military commanders

commanders raſh and precipitate; the populace more licentious and intractable, and to diſgrace the national character. The imputations levelled at Lord George Sackville by the multitude, and circulated with ſo much induſtry and clamour, ought to be conſidered as a mob accuſation which the braveſt men, even the great Duke of Marlborough, could not eſcape; it ought to be received as a dangerous ſuſpicion, which ſtrikes at the root of character, and may blaſt that honour in a moment, which the ſoldier had acquired in a long courſe of painful ſervice, at the continual hazard of his life. We ought to diſtruſt it as a malignant charge altogether inconſiſtent with the former conduct of the perſon accuſed, as well as with his ſubſequent impatience and perſeverance in demanding a trial to which he never would have been otherwiſe called; a trial although his life was at ſtake, and his cauſe cried down, he ſuſtained with ſuch courage, fortitude and preſence of mind, as even his enemies themſelves could not help admiring.

THIS ſummer was diſtinguiſhed by another trial ſtill more remarkable. Laurence, Earl Ferrers, a nobleman of a violent ſpirit, who had committed many outrages, and in the opinion of all who knew him, had given manifold proofs of inſanity, at length perpetrated the murder of his own agent a Mr. Johnſon, for which he was tried condemned and executed at Tyburn as a common malefactor. Homicide is the reproach of Great Britain; it is probable there is ſomething in the climate that diſpoſes the natives to this inhuman crimes. Certain it is, high paſſions will break out into the moſt enormous violences in that country where they are leaſt controlled by the reſtraint of regulation and order; and it is equally certain that in no civilized country under heaven is there ſuch a relaxation of diſcipline, either religious or civil as in England.

WHILE the Britiſh arms triumphed in every effort tending to the intereſt and proſperity of the nation, an event occurred, which for a moment obſcured the ſplendor of Great Britain's glory and triumphs; and could not but be very alarming to thoſe German allies, whom

whom her liberality had enabled to ſupport an expenſive and bloody war, of caprice and ambition. On the twenty fifth day of October, George II. without any previous diſorder, was in the morning ſuddenly ſeized with the agony of death, at the palace of Kenſington.

He had riſen at the uſual hour, drank his Chocolate, and enquired about the wind, as he was anxious for the arrival of the foreign mails; he then opened the window of his apartment and finding the weather was ſerene, and calm, declared he would walk in the garden. In a few minutes after this declaration, while he remained alone in his chamber, he fell down upon the floor; the noiſe of the fall brought his attendants into the room, who lifted him on the bed, where he deſired in a faint voice, that the Princeſs Amelia might be called; but before ſhe had reached the apartment, he had expired. An attempt was made to bleed him, but without effect; for his malady was beyond the power of art. When the ſurgeons opened the cavity of the cheſt, they found the right ventricle of the heart actually ruptured, and a great quantity of blood

blood diſcharged through the aperture, into the ſurrounding pericordium, ſo that he muſt have died inſtantaneouſly, in conſequence of the effuſion of blood. A rupture of this nature appears the more remarkable, as it happened to a prince of a ſound conſtitution, unaccuſtomed to exceſs, and far advanced beyond that period of life, when the blood might be ſuppoſed to flow with a dangerous impetuoſity.

THUS died George II. at the age of ſeventy-ſeven, after a reign of thirty-four years, remarkable by a variety of important events, and diverſified with a viciſſitude of character. He is ſaid to have been extremely addicted to paſſion, yet ſoon appeaſed; in domeſtic œconomy he was frugal, temperate, regular, and ſo methodical in every department of it, that he attended to objects which perhaps a great and magnanimous prince had better overlook. He was fond of military parade; and perſonally brave. He loved war as a ſoldier, and ſtudied it as a ſcience.

WE ſhall not attempt to diſplay the extent of his abilities, nor the ſplendor of his virtues;

would we had grounds to enlarge on his munificence and liberality, his generous regard to genius and learning! His government ſeldom deviated from the inſtitutions of law; or interfered with the ordinary adminiſtration of juſtice. His public character was chiefly diſtinguiſhed by a predilection for his native country, and a ſteady attention to the political intereſts of the Germanic body. To theſe principles he moſt rigidly adhered, during the whole courſe of his life; and when the blood and treaſure of the Britiſh Empire were ſacrificed to theſe conſiderations, perhaps we ought not to cenſure the prince ſo much, who no doubt, was actuated by the impulſe of natural affection, as we ſhould deteſt a ſucceſſion of venal miniſters; all of whom in their turn devoted themſelves totally to the gratification of this paſſion of partiality, which proved, prejudicial in the extreme to the real intereſt of this nation, as well as to that of the Britiſh dominions. During this reign, a ſtanding army was, by force of miniſterial influence, engrafted on the conſtitution.

VENALITY and corruption, made profeſſed patriots reſign the principles they had long endeavoured to eſtabliſh. The management of the nation was conſigned to miniſters in general, as deficient in knowledge as they were in integrity, and who by their ignorance and preſumption, reduced the country to the verge of ruin. However, we may venture to aſſert that George II. was as popular as any other prince at the time of his deceaſe. The Engliſh, as well as Iriſh are naturally warm and impetuous, and in generous natures, affection is as apt as any other paſſions to run riot.

THE ſudden death of the king was deplored by many, as a national misfortune; for no other cauſe probably, but that the kingdom was deprived of him at a critical juncture, while implicated in an expenſive and dangerous war, of which he had been perſonally the chief mover and ſupport. They knew the burthen of royalty devolved on a young prince, who, although, he had attained the age of maturity, had never been admitted to any ſhare of the adminiſtration, nor made acquainted with any of the views or ſchemes of the cabinet. Thus the real charac-

ter

of the young king was very little known to the generality of the people. Wherefore great doubts and apprehenſions were entertained by the nation, on this account; but all theſe gloomy fears were ſhortly diſpelled, and vaniſhed like miſts before the morning ſun; while the people enjoyed the heartfelt pleaſure of ſeeing their loſs repaired in ſuch a manner as fully ſatisfied the moſt ſanguine wiſh of every friend of his country.

The commerce of this kingdom encreaſed little during this reign, the neceſſities of government, the monopolizing ſpirit of Great Britain, together with the continual augmentation of the public debt, obliged the legiſlature to hamper trade with manifold and grievous impoſitions.

The powers of the human mind were fully and freely exerciſed during this reign. Conſiderable progreſs was made in mathematics and aſtronomy, Natural philoſophy became a general ſtudy, and the new doctrine of electricity grew into faſhion, The clergy were in general learned, pious and exemplary,

plary, eccleſiaſtical merit was not altogether confined to the eſtabliſhed clergy, many inſtances of extraordinary genius, and unaffected piety and moderation having appeared among the diſſenting and catholic clergy of Ireland.

In this reign, literary genius aroſe almoſt ſpontaneouſly, for though neglected by the great, it flouriſhed under the protection of a public, who had pretenſions to taſte, and piqued themſelves on encouraging merit. Candidates for literary fame appeared even in the higher ſphere of life, embelliſhed by the nervous ſtile, ſuperior ſenſe and extenſive erudition of a Corke, by the delicate taſte, the poliſhed muſe, and tender feelings of a Lyttleton,

The genius of Cervantes was transfuſed into the novels of Fielding, who painted the characters and ridiculed the follies of life, with equal ſtrength, humour and propriety. Hiſtory and geography were cultivated by many writers of profound abilities; among theſe we diſtinguiſh the learned and elegant Robertſon, and above all, the pene-

trating, ingenious, and comprehenſive Hume, a firſt rate writer, whether we conſider him as an hiſtorian or a philoſopher, nor let us forget the merit ſo conſpicuous in the works of Campbell, diſtinguiſhed for candour, intelligence, and preciſion, and Johnſon, who was inferior to none, in philoſophy and claſſical learning.

Never was the thirſt after knowledge ſo great, or literary merit more eſteemed than at this period, by the bulk of the people; but it was neither countenanced nor attended to by the throne, nor indulged by the liberality of particular patrons. The reign of Queen Anne, was propitious to the fortunes of men of genius, who lived in all the happy pride of independence, while in the ſucceeding reigns; many whoſe merit was univerſally acknowledged, remained during their lives, expoſed to all the ſtorms of indigence, and all the ſtings of mortification.

Queen Anne, countenanced learning. She converſed with Newton, and correſponded with Leibnitz. She took pains to acquire popularity, and the court was animated with a freedom

a freedom of ſpirit and vivacity, which rendered it at once brilliant and agreeable. At her death, that ſpirit languiſhed, and an entire ceſſation of gaiety and good humour enſued. It was ſucceeded by a ſullen calm, an ungracious and inſipid reſerve.

To the honour of Ireland, the virtues of benevolence and charity, are as conſpicuous as in any part of the globe; witneſs, the numerous hoſpitals and infirmaries throughout the kingdom in general, but in Dublin in particular; often eſtabliſhed by the humanity of individuals, and ſupported by voluntary contributions and parliamentary grants. Of equal, and perhaps ſuperior merit, is another charitable inſtitution, which recently took effect in the metropolis—We allude to the Magdalen Aſſylum. We ſcarce know whether moſt to admire the plan, or commend the humanity of this excellent inſtitution. A ſmall number of humane individuals, deeply affected with the ſituation of common proſtitutes, who are certainly the moſt forlorn of all human creatures, formed a generous and humane reſolution in their favour. They juſtly conſidered that many of thoſe

unhappy creatures, ſo wretched in themſelves, and ſo productive of miſchief to ſociety; had been ſeduced to vice in their tender years, by the perfidious artifice of the other ſex, or the violence of unruly paſſion, before they had acquired experience to guard againſt the one, or foreſight to perceive the fatal conſequences of the other. That the jewel, reputation, being thus loſt, perhaps in one unguarded moment, they were covered with ſhame and diſgrace, abandoned by their families, excluded from all pity, regard and aſſiſtance; that, ſtung by ſelf conviction, inſulted with reproach, denied the opportunity of penitence and contrition, cut off from all hope, impelled by indigence and maddened with deſpair, they had plunged into a life of infamy, in which they were expoſed to the dreadful viciſſitudes of miſery and the moſt torturing pangs of reflection; that whatever remorſe they might feel, or however they might abominate their own vice, or wiſh for an opportunity of amendment, they were altogether deſtitute of the means of reformation, they were not only deprived of all poſſibility of benefiting by thoſe precious moments

of repentance, and becoming once more uſeful members of ſociety, but obliged, in order to procure a wretched ſubſiſtence, to perſevere in the habits of proſtitution, and act as the inſtruments of heaven's vengeance in propagating diſeaſe and profligacy, in deſtroying the bodies, corrupting the minds, and poiſoning the morals of their fellow creatures.

Moved by ſympathy and commiſeration this truly virtuous and humane band of individuals, provided a comfortable aſylum for female penitents, to which they might fly for ſhelter from the haunts of vice, the miſeries of life, and the contempt of mankind; where they might enjoy the ſalutary ſentiments of remorſe, make their peace with heaven, habituate themſelves to induſtry and temperance, and be profitably re-united to ſociety, from which they had been ſo unhappily diſſevered.

At this period the ſtate of our finances was rather proſperous. The entire charge and debt of Ireland amounted to 1,318,263l. The total credit of the nation,

nation, was then 1,567,686l. conſequently the nation was then in credit 249,423l.

From the Revolution to the preſent period, many laws have paſſed, as the bill of rights' the toleration act, the act of ſettlement with its conditions, which aſſerted our liberties in more clear and emphatical terms; and regulated the ſucceſſion of the crown by parliament, as the exigences of religious, and civil freedom required, and alſo confirmed and exemplified the doctrine of reſiſtance, when the executive power attempts to ſubvert the conſtitution; and likewiſe maintained the ſuperiority of the laws above the king, by pronouncing this diſpenſing power to be illegal and unconſtitutional; with many other uſeful and neceſſary laws and regulations. Yet, though theſe proviſions have, in appearance, nominally reduced the ſtrength of the executive magiſtrate to a much lower ebb than in the preceding period; if on the other hand, we throw into the oppoſite ſcale, the vaſt acquiſition of force ariſing from the riot act, the annual expedience of a ſtanding army, and the great encreaſe of perſonal attachment

tachment arising from the magnitude of the national debt and of patronage; we shall find, that the crown has gradually and imperceptibly, acquired perhaps more in influence, than it has apparently lost in prerogative.

During this period many efforts were made to unite Ireland with Great Britain, as England and Scotland are united, but such schemes proved abortive as it is to be hoped they ever will, if ever they should be attempted. In many instances the crown wished to be totally independent of the parliament and to render the meeting of it less frequent. When the Duke of Devonshire was lord lieutenant in 1729, an attempt was made to procure the supplies for twenty one years, and, strange to mention, this infamous attempt, was defeated only by a majority of one voice. Such measures were calculated to supercede the necessity of convoking parliaments. But at this time parliaments were continued from the commencement of each reign to the demise of the king, wherefore Ireland might justly be said to have legislators, but not representatives; and the effects of bribery and corruption were visible and notorious. The

system

ſyſtem of bribing the legiſlature was introduced by Sir Robert Walpole, in Great Britain, and its baneful conſequences to the real intereſt of England and Ireland, are not completely eradicated at this day.

The factions of Whig and Tory, were the cauſe of much ferment and uneaſineſs in the ſtate, and religion was often made the pretext for cruelty, oppreſſion, and intolerance; yet, notwithſtanding all theſe conſiderations, the Iriſh were peaceable, loyal, and ſtrictly amenable, to the laws. During all the Pretender's attempts upon Great Britain, no diſturbance, took place in Ireland; on the contrary, the Iriſh manifeſted a ſpirit of loyalty and attachment to their ſovereign ſcarcely to be paralleled under ſimilar circumſtances; at a time when their affections were only weaned from the cauſe of James, and when they laboured under reſtrictions and penalties diſtreſſing to humanity, and diſgraceful to the legiſlators. Thoſe acts of ſeverity were however in ſome meaſure juſtified, by the policy of the times, and the nature of the government, but their total abolition is a conſummation devoutly to be wiſhed for, by every

every liberal mind, and real well-wiſher to the happineſs and proſperity of Ireland.

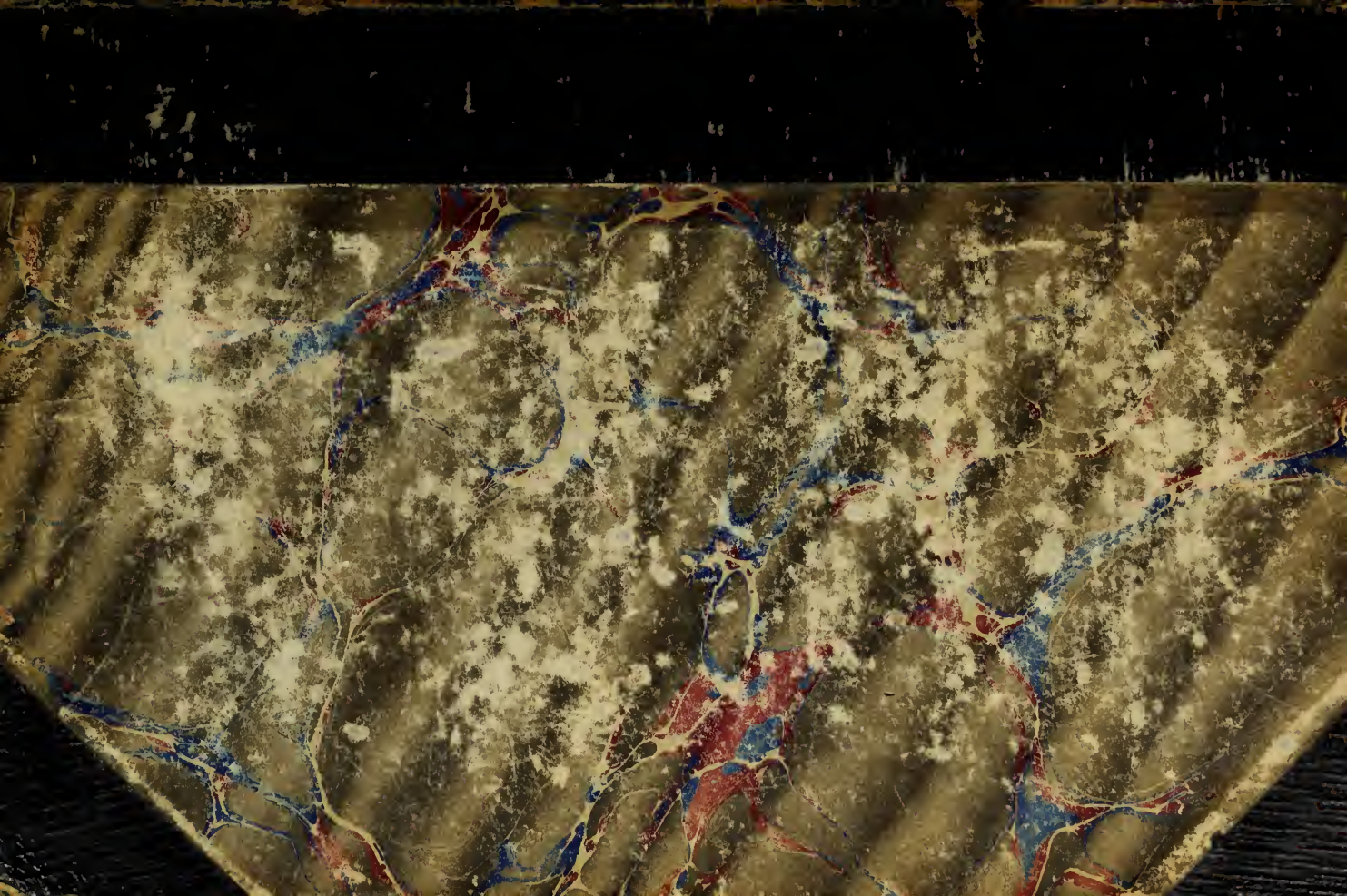
In the ſecond year of Queen Anne's reign, the intereſt of money was reduced from 10, to 8 per cent. and in the eighth year of George I. it was lowered from eight, to ſeven per cent. and in the fifth year of the reign of George II. it was ſtill farther reduced, to ſix per cent. per annum.

The convocation in their proceedings became ſo troubleſome to government, that king George I. thought proper to put a ſtop to their ſitting, by a prorogation; and ſince that period, the convocation, were not permitted either to ſit or to tranſact buſineſs. But by way of compenſation, the clergy were allowed to vote on general elections, a right which they did not before enjoy. For the ſake of many of our readers, we beg leave to inform them, that the convocation we are ſpeaking of, differed conſiderably from the eccleſiaſtical ſynods of other chriſtian kingdoms; thoſe conſiſting entirely of biſhops, whereas with us the convocation was the miniature of a parliament, wherein the arch-biſhop preſided

preſided with regal ſtate; the upper houſe of convocation repreſented the houſe of lords as compoſed of biſhops; and the lower houſe compoſed of repreſentatives of the ſeveral dioceſes at large, and of each particular chapter therein, reſembled the houſe of commons, with its knights of the ſhire and burgeſſes.

This conſtitution is aſcribed to the policy of Edward the I. of England, who thereby at one and the ſame time, let in the inferior clergy, to the privilege of framing eccleſiaſtical canons, (which before they had not) and alſo, introduced a method of taxing eccleſiaſtical benefices, by conſent of convocation. It would be a taſk worthy of a man of abilities, to trace the ſucceſſive alterations that took place in our ſyſtem of government, and alſo to point out the eſtabliſhed practice of the age, and the maxims of adminiſtration, which at each particular period were prevalent and univerſally aſſented to, as being the only rule of government, which is intelligible, or carries any degree of authority with it.

A production

A PRODUCTION of this nature might be particularly uſeful to us, who have happily eſtabliſhed the moſt perfect and accurate ſyſtem of liberty, as it would teach us to cheriſh our preſent conſtitution, from a compariſon, or contraſt, with the condition of former ages. It would be curious, by exhibiting to us the remote and commonly feint and diſfigured originals, of the moſt finiſhed and moſt noble inſtitutions, and by inſtructing us in the great mixture of accident, which commonly concurs with a ſmall ingredient of wiſdom and foreſight, in erecting the complicated ſervice of the moſt perfect government. It would alſo, render us cautious of appealing to the practice of our anceſtors, or regarding the maxims of rude and uncultivated ages, as the certain rules for our preſent conduct.

[*End of the firſt Volume.*]